Influences of British Architecture in China

SHANGHAI AND TIENTSIN 1843—1943

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PhD

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OF

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DECLARATION

This thesis has been composed by myself and is my original work

YUAN FANG

Abstract

The British settled in China's treaty ports for nearly a century after the Opium War, where they developed an architecture that was very different from the local models. The British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin played a vital part in the architectural history of modern China. This thesis is intended to present the most comprehensive study to date of this historically important period of architecture. Not only does the thesis explore both in major aspects and in detail the aesthetic tendencies of the British building in China, but it also discusses the social, economic and cultural elements to which the British buildings were responding. The dissertation is illustrated by over 120 photographs and drawings, both historical and contemporary.

British buildings in the treaty ports developed amid the cataclysm of nineteenth-century Chinese history. Subject to cultural and stylistic influences from both the West and the Orient, British architecture in China developed its own distinctive approaches to building, as demonstrated in four phases: the foundation of an Anglo-Indian tradition in the nineteenth century, the rise of Victorian eclecticism at the turn of the twentieth century, the dominance of Beaux-Arts classicism in the 1920s, and the advent of modern architecture in the 1930s. The architectural representation of each phase was not always fully resolved or clear in its style, and often had an experimental and exploratory character. The example of British architecture made an important contribution as a Western influence on the development of modern Chinese architecture.

In view of the physical presence of the British buildings, and the growing understanding that they represent a joint cultural heritage shared by both China and Britain, the significance of these buildings is gaining increased recognition in present-day China. This thesis will offer an insight into one of the most innovative eras of Chinese architectural history, and stimulate cross-cultural understanding between the two nations.

Acknowledgement

For his guidance during my PhD study, I wish to express my greatest appreciation to Dr. Iain Boyd Whyte, Director of the Centre for Architectural History and Theory, Edinburgh University. I have profited greatly from his critical judgement, his broad knowledge, thought-provoking conversations as well as his encouragement and friendship. He also checked and verified both my arguments and the English language. Without his support my work would have be much more difficult and could not be completed in three years.

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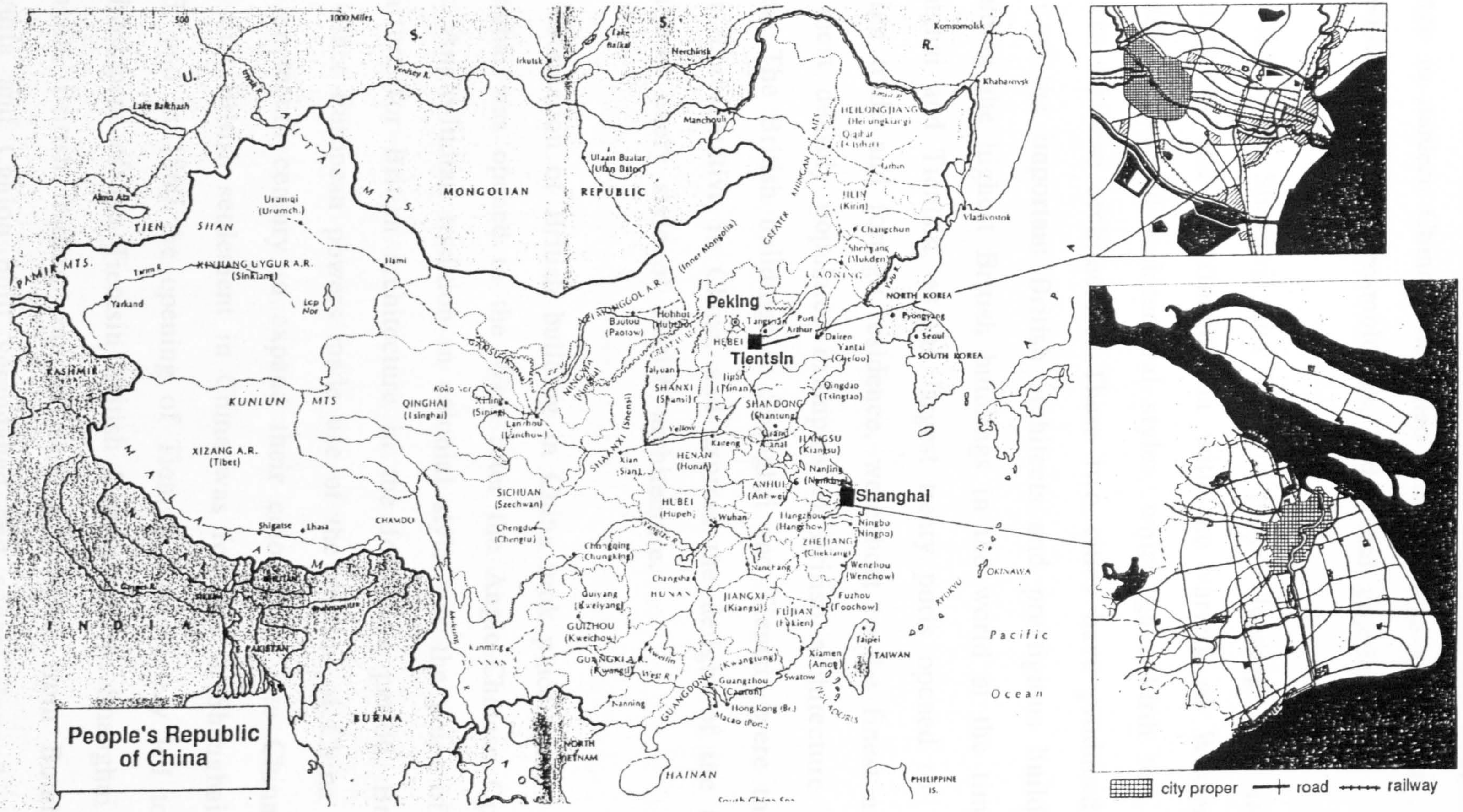
Introduction: the Story of the Stone

This study explores the influences of the British building in China between 1843 and 1943, an innovative era in modern Chinese architecture. Like *the Story of the Stone*, a great eighteenth-century Chinese social novel, the history of the British building in China is also a dramatic and complicated story that started off as an inscription on stone. The goal of this study is to investigate the development of British architecture in Shanghai and Tientsin that reflected British influences in China and changes in Chinese society and culture. Due to political taboos, this history has kept silent behind the "bamboo curtain" for a long time. The influences of the British buildings on modern Chinese architecture has not been fully and objectively appreciated. The British buildings emerged as a significant force in Chinese modern architecture. British building is not simply a historical episode locked into the past, but an impressive phenomenon whose influence continues into the present day. The achievement of modern Chinese architecture cannot be fully understood without consideration of the British influences. The British building in China is the architectural heritage shared by the two countries.

The major contribution of British buildings in China emanate from two key metropolitan centres — Shanghai and Tientsin. [Map 1-1] Shanghai and Tientsin were the largest industrial and

[Map 1-1] China: Shanghai and Tientsin



commercial metropolises, and centres of technical and economic change in modern China. They also functioned to create and introduce new ideas, cosmologies, and social practices.

In architecture, Shanghai and Tientsin played leading roles in development and experimentation with the variety of Western building types and architectural styles, which gave birth to modern Chinese architecture. These two cities have produced most of the important British architects and prestigious buildings, including the highest British buildings in the world at the time. Shanghai and Tientsin, as the largest treaty ports opened to foreign trade and foreign residence, were host to the finest and the most densely populated examples of British architecture in China. The British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin were the most representative in China, and express the delight of the time in almost every style of British architecture.

The foundation of British building in China took place when Shanghai was opened to the West after the Anglo-Chinese Opium War. Anglo-Indian tradition in colonial style was the point of departure for British architecture in the formative period. Britain and other European powers made use of the decline of China in the nineteenth century to expand their colonialism into China. The first British settlement in China was founded in Shanghai in 1843, and in 1860 the opening of Tientsin immediately led to the establishment of the Tientsin British Concession. In Shanghai and Tientsin, British trading companiesand merchants from Bombay, Calcutta and Canton built verandahed and square-planned

trading houses without much regard for the suitability to the climate and the local building technology. With the introduction of Western building materials and techniques, British trading houses became the first generation of British buildings in China. Although the influence of the Gothic style did not bear comparison with the commercial Renaissance style, the buildings that marked the achievements of the British settlements in Shanghai and Tientsin were Gothic: George Gilbert Scott's Holy Trinity Church (1866—93), Shanghai, and the Gordon Hall (1890), Tientsin.

The development of the British settlements in Shanghai and Tientsin profited largely from Chinese joint residence with foreigners. The linong house became a common housing type in the British settlements, developing a mixture of the Chinese courtyard house and the English terraced house. Architects made attempts to adopt the Chinese style and Western building technology to create the so-called colonial Chinese style. Such a Chinese version of Western architecture was seen at its best in the Shanghai Customs House built in 1857. By the late nineteenth century, with the growth of Shanghai and Tientsin into large commercial centres, the British settlements in Shanghai and Tientsin had expanded and developed into established urban areas.

The turn of the twentieth century was a revolutionary epoch in architecture as well as in society. Western expansion in China encouraged the Chinese westernisation movement. Both worked

to change China. Due to the rapid increase of foreign trade and new establishment of foreign industry, a number of the Western types and forms of buildings were brought into Shanghai and Tientsin. Public buildings, commercial buildings, factories and schools made impressive appearances in the city. The British settlements became the virtual centre of the city. The urban building benefited from not only these economic developments but also from Western technology. Iron and steel structures were used in building. The manufacture of new building materials grew. Public works were improved and developed.

With increasing information and knowledge of English architectural movements, British buildings in China no longer conformed to Anglo-Indian patterns, but favoured the prevalent styles directly from England. Influences of Victorian and Edwardian architecture were thoroughly stylised in British Shanghai and Tientsin, such as the Palace Hotel (1906), Shanghai, and the Shanghai Club (1909). The varied forms of British domestic architecture were adopted to cater for the increasing need to separate residence from business. Dwelling houses built both for the taipans and for the upper-middle classes favoured the Queen Anne style, which spanned the late nineteenth century and twentieth centuries.

In the 1920s, there were so many changes in the appearance of British buildings in China. After the First World War, the Chinese economy was better than those in many European countries, which stimulated truly remarkable development in Shanghai and

Tientsin. This period saw an unprecedented increase, both in number and size of British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin. Grandiose office buildings, palatial banks and other imposing strucures were erected and lined the business centres. These prominent monuments were the productions of the consolidation of the economy. The Beaux-Arts Classical and the Greek Revival styles were the most important architectural styles, well shown in the bank buildings. The names of large foreign banks and trading offices were always associated with splendid stone edifices, among which the most magnificent was the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking building in Shanghai (1923), a Chinese version of Edwin Luytens's classical designs. Civic buildings also employed the grand manner. The Shanghai General Post Office (1923) and the Tientsin Kailan Mining Administration building (1921) were celebrations of classical architecture. Domestic architecture assumed an independent significance. Houses for the middle classes proliferated and acquired new comfort. The terraced houses became popular domestic features in urban development at the time.

During this period, architects emerged as an important profession, with British companies dominant. British architectural firms, such as Atkinson & Dallas, and Palmer & Turner, were well known at the time. They specialised in the design of prestigious buildings. By the end of the 1920s, British building in Shanghai and Tientsin were hardly distinguishable from those of the same period in Britain.

In the early 1930s there were unmistakable signs of the disintegration of the British tradition, and most of the images associated with Edwardian classicism were out of date. The great world depression of the 1930s did not initially affect China. On the contrary, Shanghai and Tientsin witnessed abnormal economic growth. The impact of the modern movement from the European continent and from the United States made itself felt on British architecture in China. Development in building technology made it possible to construct high-rise buildings. In Shanghai, the Sassoon House (1928), the Broadway Mansions (1934) and the Park Hotel (1934) launched the competition for height. They were acclaimed as the highest buildings in the world outside New York and Chicago. The Art Deco high-rise buildings refreshed the skyline of the city.

However, modern architecture never succeeded in killing the popularity of classicism and historicism for British building in China. Commercial and public buildings continued to use classical and traditional languages. Another significant architectural movement in the 1930 was the Chinese Revival, an attempt to combine Chinese and Western architectures. The Bank of China building (1936) in Shanghai was one of the influential experiments in reconciling traditional Chinese patterns with modern Western architecture. In 1943 after the outbreak of the Pacific War, an agreement between China and Britain abrogated all British privileges, settlements, and concessions in China. It put the last stone on the history of British building in China.

The British influences on architecture in Shanghai and Tientsin remained strong throughout the century. The richly varied buildings of each phase were not without unity, but it is to be found in their experimental and exploratory approaches to architecture rather than in a clear, dominant style. Yet, when the development of British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin are compared with the architectural phases in Britain, it can be seen that the parallel in architecture is not constant between Britain and China.

Although British architecture in China is primarily the province of European architecture, it did not simply copy, but extended the architectural expression of British architecture. Founding on the colonial tradition, British building developed lopsidedly. The commercial buildings had been the dominant force in British architecture in China. When the development of British building in Shanghai and Tientsin is compared with that in Britain, it can be seen that the parallel in architectural phases is not constant between Britain and China. Regional characteristics can be found in details, building materials and weather influences.

The philosophies and features of Chinese architecture had experienced a deep transformation between 1843 and 1943 as a result of Western influences. Shanghai and Tientsin were the keys to the history of the British buildings in China. They are significant in the history of Chinese Western-style architecture, through which Western architectural forms and building technology, mixed with Western philosophy and concepts, were

introduced into China. It is a fact that the development of British building accompanied the growth of Shanghai and Tientsin. Although it is a history of British building, it cannot be complete without taking into consideration of the contributions made by Chinese people. In spite of the departure of the British, the British influences on the building in Shanghai and Tientsin have not come to a full stop. These British buildings and other Western-style buildings are part of history. They continue to play a certain role in the cities and culture to the present day. British buildings of Shanghai and Tientsin are the great heritage of modern Chinese architecture.

This study is organised to show how the British building sprang from the interplay between architecture and in society. To broach in writing a comprehensive and concise history of a hitherto unexplored area, it is necessary and helpful to divide the history into several chronological areas. If we place the development of architecture properly in the context of social history, rather than simplification and blind politicisation, it becomes apparent that the buildings mirrored in various degrees the social and cultural characteristics of their time. It is necessary, therefore, to discover the interrelation between the development of the British building and the history of modern China.

This thesis lays an emphasis on the belief that architecture is part of social evolution. Accordingly, the history of the British building in China is divided into four phases by boundaries of social changes and developments. The first phase is between

1843 and 1893, from the opening of Shanghai to the British, through fourteen years of the Taiping Uprising, to the golden jubilee of the British Settlement in Shanghai. This period is the beginning of the British building in China. The second phase is from 1893 to 1911, in which the Treaty of Shimonoseki concluded the First Sino-Japanese War; the Boxer rebellion took place in 1900; and the 1911 Revolution overthrew the Manchu dynasty. During this period, the British building activity grew rapidly. The period from 1911 to 1927 is the third phase that saw the foundation of the Republic of China, the movement of New Culture, and re-unified China under the Nationalist government. The fourth phase covers the years from 1927 to 1943, which experienced the establishment of the Nanking Nationalist government, the great depression of the 1930s, the Japanese aggression and the outbreak of the Pacific War in 1942. These thirty years witnessed the two high periods of British buildings in China.

The British influences played different, often important, roles in each phase. All these historic events affected and were reflected directly or indirectly in the history of the British building in Shanghai and Tientsin. The four phases roughly coincide, not by chance, with the evolution and development of British architecture.

In addition, this analysis of the history of the British building is not just a question of chronology. It stresses certain aesthetic tendencies in architecture, and involves objective comparison and

investigation of the forms and characteristics of the buildings. In the assessment of a building for its merit, there is consideration of the building in relation to earlier and contemporary British architecture, and in regard to the cultural and social context of Shanghai and Tientsin where the building was built. Each period is given a title to suggest the general characteristics that the British building had in each particular stage of development. In practice, however, all the periods of architecture overlap, and the architectural styles of buildings are often ambiguous. It would be Procrustean to expect that the history of architecture or the definition of a style would conform to clear-cut generalisations.

In attempt to provide an object and all-round view of British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin, the examples in this thesis are chosen according to their generic importance or general role in the history. The entries contain not only the important buildings but also the examples that have been neglected, but nevertheless exemplify common aspects of architecture at the time of their creation. This survey of the British buildings concentrates on the British settlement and concession in Shanghai and Tientsin, but it also includes British houses built outside these settlements. The definition of British buildings is wide and tolerant. It mainly means those designed by British architects, but it also extends to the buildings built by or for the British. Buildings by unknown architects usually belong to the latter category.

The system of dating in this thesis should be explained. When a

building is given two dates, the first is the date of design, the second the date of completion. When one date only is given, the building was possibly designed and built in the same year, or in many cases, only one date is known. If the date of a building is not available, an assumed time is given by reference.

Up to now, no research or book has been devoted to the development of British building in China. They have not received the attention they deserve. There are some publications on modern Chinese architecture, in which British buildings are examined as only individual and isolated examples in the history of modern Chinese architecture, for example Banister Fletcher's *A History of Architecture* (nineteenth edition, 1987), *Brief History of Modern Shanghai Architecture*, edited by Chen Cong-zhou and Zhang Ming in 1988, and *Illustrations of Modern Tientsin Architecture,* edited by the writing group of modern Tientsin architecture in 1990, which all provide this thesis with references of Chinese Western-style buildings.

The difficulty for this study lies in the gaps in the archives and documents of the British settlements, the British architectural firms and the buildings themselves, especially those that have been rebuilt or demolished. Fortunately, most of the buildings miraculously survived the wars and social changes of the past half century. However, the British building and other historic Western-style buildings are now confronted with a crisis resulting from the economic boom of China. It may be the last opportunity to investigate and research into these dinosaurs of

stone before they vanish.

This thesis is the first study on British building in China. With over 120 illustrations, it tries to present a comprehensive and inclusive visual record of British building in Shanghai and Tientsin. It is the first attempt to divide the history of the British building in China into different phases, and to define a theme for each phase. It is also the first to examine and categorise the buildings into the architectural styles. Many facts are discovered and discussed for the first time. Mistakes concerning the function or dates of certain buildings in earlier researches are cleared up in this thesis through analysis and textual criticism. The study is supported by field-work in Shanghai, Tientsin and London. This thesis will, it is hoped, to provide an important reference for the research on the Chinese Western-style architecture, the history of modern Chinese architecture, and the urban conservation and redevelopment of Shanghai and Tientsin.

This research is given new historic interest and practical significance with the current opening of China to the world, and the approach of the end of British colonial rule in Hong Kong in 1997. It raises again the question for Chinese architects of how to understand and assess the role of earlier Western-style architecture in China, and how to approach the influences of Western architectural culture. Hong Kong architecture today is actually the continuity of the British building in China. Hong Kong is now influential on the contemporary trend of Chinese architecture, in the same way as was Shanghai half a century ago.

Can Chinese architects find an appropriate way to make use of Western culture and heritage so as to progress a Chinese architectural revival, as an old Chinese wisdom saying: "Using foreign stone to abrade Chinese jade"?

2

The Rise of Shanghai and Tientsin

China between 1840 and 1945

Shanghai and Tientsin

Life of the British in Shanghai and Tientsin

To survey the history of British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin is inevitably to refer to the history of modern China that made its social, economic and cultural imprint on the buildings. In the course of a hundred years between the First Opium War and the Second World War China experienced the aggression and expansion of Britain and other Western powers, the rebellions of the Taiping and Boxers, the fall of the Manchu dynasty, the period of anarchy and warlords, the establishment of the Nanking government, and the Japanese invasion. The unequal Sino-foreign relationships, the treaty system, made for a "semi-colonial China". Britain was the most important foreign force in these relationships.

Under the treaty system, Shanghai and Tientsin rapidly developed into the largest cities of commerce and industry in China. Their rise was closely associated with the development of the British concessions that had been established in the cities since 1843 and 1860. The life of the British in China was typically colonialist.

2.1 China between 1840 and 1945

Chinese modern history between 1840 and 1945 is unprecedented in the degree of Western influence upon and even participation in Chinese life. In the eighteenth century, China was superior to England in agriculture, public works, trade and general standard of living, but in the nineteenth century, China presented a sorry spectacle in contrast to Victorian England. Before the Sino-British Opium War in 1840, the factories of the East India Company and the embassy of Lord Macartney to China in 1793 had foreshadowed the rise of British encroachment on China.

After defeat in the Opium War of 1840, the reluctant Manchu government signed the Treaty of Nanking in 1842, enforced under the guns of the British man-of-war, to cede Hong Kong to the British and open Shanghai and four other ports to British trade. China's doors finally had to open to the West. Other Western powers immediately hurried to China to share the spoils. It was the first time that China suffered from the expansion of Western imperialism in its four-thousand-year history, but this was of course not the first time that the West had taken advantage of China's political and military weakness to impose its expansionist aims upon China. Tientsin was opened in the aftermath of Anglo-French occupation of Peking in 1860. By the eve of the First World War, ninety-two cities had been formally

opened to Western trade or concession. China's fate had been intricately intertwined with the policies of foreign powers for a century. These stimulated China's striking political and social transformation and revolution that finally led to the end of the presence of the Western powers in China.

The latter half of the nineteenth century was in many respects the hinge between pre-modern and modern China, and a variety of changes were brought to China through contact with the West. The sequence of disasters from internal disorder and foreign aggression were mutually conducive to change. The Taiping Uprising[1] against the Manchu dynasty (1851—1864) formed a backdrop for early Sino-foreign relations along the treaty ports, and along with the treaty system. The trouble created by the British, the French, the Russian and Japanese was by no means over. Chinese foreign policy had to renounce Sinocentrism and was conducted from a position of weakness. The Ch'ing government's new foreign policy emphasised conciliation with the European powers and the acceptance of the treaty system. The attempt to pursue the West led to the self-strengthening movement of the 1860s and the reform movement of the 1890s. China began to take its place in the family of nations and learned to struggle for survival in a world of social Darwinism. The formula, "Chinese learning for the fundamentals, Western learning for practical use" was the Chinese compromise with Western influence at the time.

Into the twentieth century, China went on suffering from social

turmoil and foreign pressure. A growing sense of resistance to foreign encroachment combined with larger social, economic, political and religious factors finally brought about the Boxer movement.[2] It developed rapidly into a vast anti-foreign tempest, sweeping North China, Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, in which the foreign settlements were attacked, foreigners were killed, and enormous numbers of foreign properties were destroyed. After the suppression of the Boxer Uprising in 1901, political and institutional reform was demanded not only by Chinese reformists, but also by the Manchu rulers, and the foreigners too, despite their different purposes. Although the Ch'ing government attempted Western-style industrialisation and some half-hearted constitutional reforms in an effort to survive, the Manchu rule was doomed to collapse.

The Revolution of 1911 overthrew the Manchu dynasty and tried to inaugurate a constitutional, parliamentary republic based on Western models, but warlordism followed the triumph of the Revolution. The chaos of warlordism rendered China peculiarly vulnerable to foreign pressures and encroachments. Foreign governments took advantage of revolutionary disruption in a variety of ways, but widespread disorder also limited foreign activities in the large treaty ports. At the same time, partly in response to the evils of warlordism, intellectual and social movements along with the rise of nationalism flowed. The climax was reached in the May Fourth movement in 1919 that initiated "new culture" against Confucianism and called for the establishment of a scientific and democratic China. In 1925 the

working class demonstrated its power in the May Thirtieth movement. Chinese history entered a new phase of national revolution and liberation from imperialism. The presence and privileges of the foreigner were seriously challenged.

In the 1930s two events profoundly affected the course of Chinese history and the British presence in China. First, the Japanese invaded Shengyang in September 1931 and conquered Manchuria, and in 1937 began a full-scale aggression against China, which ended the treaty system. Second, the Chinese Communist Party established its Soviet government in rural areas against the Nanking government of Kuomintang. It mobilised peasants and brought them into the revolutionary process and won China in 1949, and finally closed the history of the foreigner in China.

The Chinese economy in the late Ch'ing period was characterised by a high degree of commercial development, and reflected the external impact of Western intrusion that both inhibited and encouraged Chinese industry and economy. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, as a consequence of the establishment of a foreign presence in China, modern economic elements and functions began to be added to China's traditional cities. Western expansion generated sustained cumulative economic growth that resulted in a more or less "modern" sector in the treaty ports. During the late nineteenth century, the domestic economy, to a limited extent, had developed links with the world market. Foreign commercial firms opened branches and

agencies in the larger treaty ports, and under the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895, foreigners began to operate manufacturing enterprises in these treaty ports. Chinese firms and factories made their appearance parallel to the arrival of the foreigners. By the end of the Manchu dynasty in 1911, there was a small but noticeable change in the commercial system at its outer fringes, which was influenced mainly by the progressive opening of treaty ports and the expansion of foreign trade. The largely foreign-financed railways began to appear in the 1890s, and some of these treaty ports were the termini of the railway lines. The tiny modern construction industry was taking shape at the turn of the twentieth century.

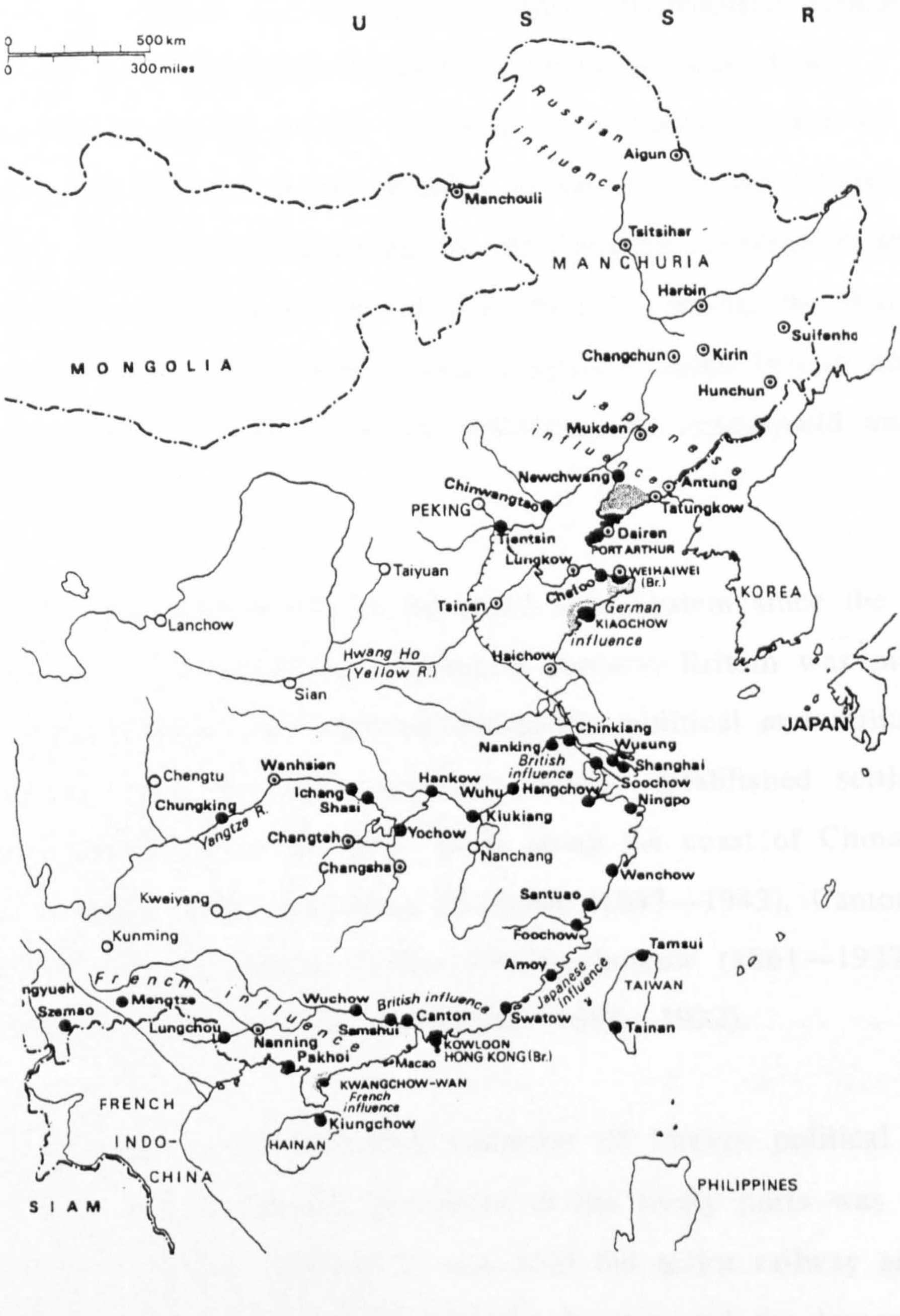
In the era of the Republic, the economy as a whole underwent no significant transformation from feudalist to capitalist economy, but the two systems coexisted together in the state economy. Industrial growth continued in urban centres, such as Tientsin around, southern Manchuria, the mid- and lower Yangtze and southern coast. The total number of urban residents grew rapidly in China's largest cities, in particular in Shanghai, Peking, Tientsin and Canton. The modern industry initiated in the late nineteenth century became a genuine and growing modern industrial sector in the first half of the twentieth century, but most rural areas did not achieve the same growth as the cities. The establishment of the Nanking government in 1928, which nominally brought political unity, neither coped with agricultural problems nor promoted industrial growth. Foreign economic activity still played a large role in the modern sector of the state economy. As

industrialisation proceeded and foreign trade increased, world economic conditions had a growing effect on the economy in important parts of China. In 1931 the world economic depression hit China. Despite some evidence of recovery in 1936, economic improvement was soon forestalled by the Japanese aggression.

The unequal treaty system was the product at a time of "dynastic interregnum" when the Manchu dynasty declined, and Britain was carrying out its world-wide commercial and colonial expansion. The treaty system followed the first Treaty of Nanking between China and Britain in 1840. Under the system "treaty ports" were set aside for foreign residence and business, in which China's sovereignty was diminished: local administration was in foreign hands and was financed by local taxes levied by the foreign authorities. Under this system, foreign concessions or settlements were established in the treaty ports. By the early twentieth century, there were nearly sixty Chinese ports opened to the West. [Map 2-1][3] The system grew into an increasingly important element in the Chinese state and generated a furious assault on China's existing social and economic structure. Its characteristics were becoming evident: foreigners were dominant in China's foreign trade and exchange; foreign landlords owned real estate in trading centres like Tientsin and Hankow as well as Canton and Shanghai; maritime customs administration was under the control of the foreigners.

The first two decades after the 1840 war constituted a new order in China's foreign relations. By the end of the nineteenth century

[Map 2-1] Treaty ports in China



the treaty ports had become urban centres mediating the shock of cultural contact between China and the West. During the twentieth century the foreign influences transmitted primarily through the treaty ports became an invading flood that contributed heavily to the disruption and transformation of traditional Chinese society. Finally, at the end of the 1930s, the treaty system was supplanted by the Japanese aggression at the outbreak of the Second World War. In 1943, during the War, in order to keep China in the struggle against Japan, Britain and the United States joined China in abolishing the century-old unequal treaties.

Britain had been active in the treaty port system since the opening of China. In the nineteenth century, Britain was moving to the height of its industrial prosperity, political and military strength, and overseas expansion. Britain established settlements and concessions in the treaty ports along the coast of China and the Yangtze River, including Shanghai (1843—1943), Canton (1859—1943), Tientsin (1860—1943), Hankow (1861—1927), Kiukiang (1861—1927), Weihaiwei (1898—1922).

The improved and expanded character of foreign political influence and economic privileges in the treaty ports was also chiefly a British creation. It also held the major railway and mining concessions. Britain had the longest and the largest commercial and financial interests in China. Therefore, it had a particularly close involvement the political and economic life of China. Britain even took direct military intervention to protect its

interests in China. In a sense, its sphere of influence extended throughout the territory of China.

The British could force their way into the Chinese power structure and in time play a part in the Chinese government, but the British could do this only with Chinese help, only by making a mutual accommodation with the ruling establishment, and so long as the Chinese populace was not mobilised against them by modern nationalist sentiment. The treaty port system in China merely focused and sharpened the traditional Chinese insistence on a self-sufficient and self-satisfied identity. China never had an identity problem, although the "foreign" elements in Chinese life were so widespread. In the end a partly alien modernisation was accepted as the price of self-respect. The two cultures neither prevailed nor assimilated each other. They retained their independence.

The Chinese policy of adopting Western modernisation naturally brought foreign experts along with the borrowing of foreign technology. This was achieved by taking the British into a sort of entente. Britain provided the majority of the foreign personnel in the Maritime Customs Service and the Salt Administration, and accounted for half of the Protestant missionaries. Continued foreign dominance of the economic process in the treaty ports was sustained by the role of British banks in China in financing foreign trade. For forty years from 1848, when the Oriental Banking Corporation established an office in Shanghai, the British enjoyed a virtual monopoly of foreign banking in China. The two

most important British-controlled firms were the Chartered Bank and the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation. The former opened its first branch in China in 1857, and the latter was established first in 1865. German, Japanese, Russian, French and American competitors began to appear in the 1890s.

The British Empire had dominated the other Western countries until the substantial reshaping of the international system by the war in Europe and the Bolshevik Revolution. When the Pacific powers met at the Washington Conference in late 1921, the British Empire was slowly losing the indisputable position of leadership it had once commanded, though it was greater in size than ever before.

After the First World War, together with deep changes in China's domestic political situation, the British spheres of influence were largely reduced in China. Although the British worked desperately to regain their pre-eminence in the China trade, the Japanese and the Americans were growing more important. The decisive moment came on the thirtieth May 1925 when demonstrating students and workers were shot dead by the British police. It touched off a nation-wide movement against British and other imperialism and brought about the recovery of the British Hankow and Kiukiang Concessions by China in 1927. The 20th April 1949 saw the last shots fired by British warships in Chinese waters. The response from Mao's Communist troops was very vigorous, marking the end of the military supremacy of the colonialist powers.

2.2 Shanghai and Tientsin

The foreign cities in China can be classified into three groups: those ceded to a foreign country, such as British Hong Kong (1842—1997); those leased to a foreign country, such as German Tsingtao (1898—1914) and Russian Harerbin (1896—1924); and those that included several foreign settlements or concessions. Shanghai and Tientsin came into the last of these categories. Shanghai and Tientsin were the most influential of these foreign cities, and shared common characteristics. They were divided by foreign settlements or concessions that formed sub-societies, each occupying an identifiable place, and developing its own autonomous life-style. The residents of each sub-society were able to experience other ways of life from other parts of the city. These foreign concessions administered mainly by Europeans but peopled mainly by the Chinese, where the two different cultures depended on each other for mutual advantages.

The rapid rise of Shanghai to become an international commercial metropolis was due to the convergence of several factors. The geographic conditions were the first. Situated on the East China Sea, at the tip of the fertile and populated lower Yangtze delta, Shanghai, meaning literally "On the Sea", provided natural port facilities and ready communication with the interior. The city's maritime location fostered the growth of trade. It had attracted Shanghai's very first British visitor, Hugh Lindsay, an agent of the

East India Company, who arrived in Shanghai in 1832. "The advantages which foreigners would derive from the liberty of trade with this place are incalculable", he mused[4], dreaming of the Chinese snug and happy in Lancashire textiles.

Shanghai stood mid-point on the coast equally accessible by sea from Tientsin, north China and Canton, south China, and Japan. It formed the natural centre of Far Eastern shipping and was midway between Atlantic Europe and America. The Whangpoo River dominates the city. The Whangpoo with a complete network of rivers and canals dominated Shanghai. Nowhere else in the world did such a vast area and so many people depend on a river and a city for their trade. "It is the great gate to the Chinese empire."[5]

Shanghai had been a place of trading importance since the late 13th century, emerging from a small trading market. By the early nineteenth century Shanghai was a densely populated commercial port with a population about five hundred thousand people.[6] 1843 saw the first foreigners settled in Shanghai. "The Never Land" granted for the erection of the foreign settlement was partly a marshy waste on the Whangpoo River, but it was eagerly accepted by Captain G. Balfour, then the consul for Britain, in November 1843. As the locality was chosen rather informally, it was very difficult to acquire even the small parcel of land essential for the establishment of the projected Foreign Settlement. It was not until 1845 that the Shanghai *Taotai* (mayor) issued a proclamation that determined that "the ground

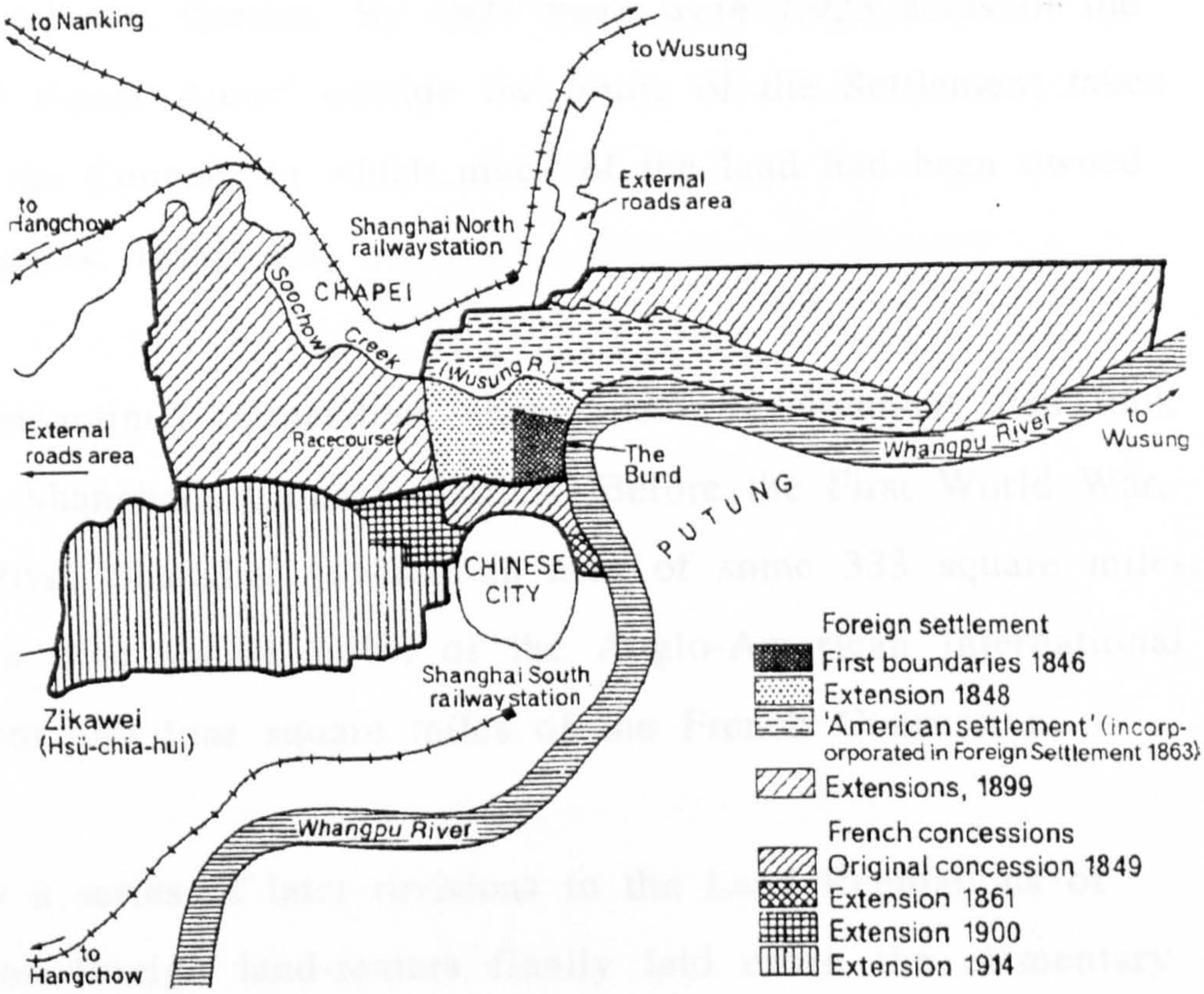
North of the Yang-king-pang and South of Le-kea-chang should be rented to English merchants, for erecting their buildings and residing therein".[7]

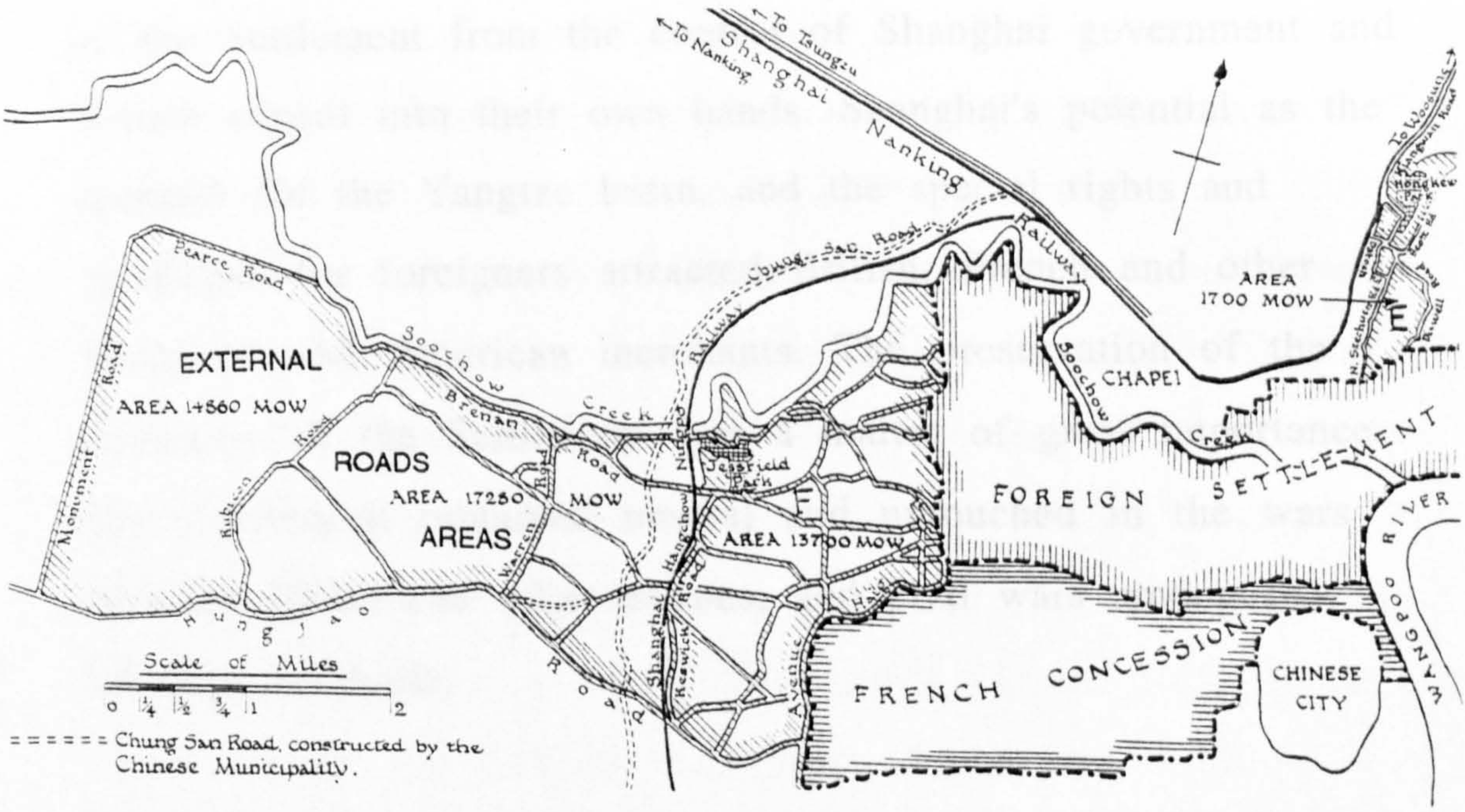
The Land Regulations of 1845 negotiated between the Shanghai taotai and the British consul were the basic foundation for the Settlement and its further development, in which the boundaries for the foreign settlement were confirmed. It was located at a site north of the walled Chinese city, enclosing an area of 138 acres. The Chinese nicknamed it "Ten-*li*[8] Exotic Place (*shi li yang chang*)", because the original foreign settlement was about ten Chinese *li*(s) in length along the waterfront bounds. Following the British, the American obtained access to China by the Treaty of Wanghsai of 1844, and in 1848 accepted a portion of land in Shanghai for the establishment of an American settlement. The French entered into an agreement with Shanghai authorities in 1849 to establish the French Concession.

Shanghai's development into a modern mercantile and industrial city depended to a large extent on the growth of the British Settlement. In 1863 the British and American zones merged and the consolidated enclave added an area of 1,309 acres to the British Settlement, which was increased to 470 acres by an agreement of 1848. Two further sections of 1,896 and 1,908 acres respectively were added in 1899, bringing the total area of the Settlement to 5,583 acres. [Map 2-2] Since then the Settlement became known as the International Settlement, and was divided into four districts: the central, North, East and West.

[Map 2-2] Expansions of the foreign settlements in Shanghai, 1846-1899

[Map 2-3] The external Roads Areas, Shanghai.





Despite resistance from the Shanghai authorities, the Settlement Council went on developing and occupying adjacent land—the so-called "External Roads Areas", — that were constructed first in 1869 by Charles Gordon. By 1925 there were 7,923 acres of the "External Roads Areas" outside the limits of the Settlement taken over by the Council, in which much of the land had been owned by foreigners. [Map 2-3]

In the meantime, tremendous change and development also took place in Shanghai's Chinese districts. Before the First World War, metropolitan Shanghai covered an area of some 333 square miles, including nine square miles of the Anglo-American International Settlement and four square miles of the French Concession.

Through a series of later revisions to the Land Regulations of 1845, the foreign land-renters finally laid down the elementary principles for self-government in 1881, removing the authority of the Settlement from the control of Shanghai government and British consul into their own hands. Shanghai's potential as the entrepot for the Yangtze basin, and the special rights and privileges for foreigners attracted British, French and other European and American merchants. The preservation of the neutrality of the Settlement was a matter of great importance. The Settlement remained neutral and untouched in the wars between China and other nations, and civil wars among the Chinese warlords.

From the 1860s onward, Shanghai developed rapidly, and by the

turn of the twentieth century Shanghai established its predominant position in China's commerce and industry. It was also the hub of British economic interest and other western commercial imperialism in China. Shanghai, taking the place of Canton, dominated about 50 per cent of China's foreign trade. It was one of the largest cotton manufacturing bases in the world before the city's industry suffered extensive war damage in the Sino-Japanese wars of 1931 and 1937. There were about two hundred cotton mills and weaving plants in the 1930s. As a distributing port for more than one-tenth of all the people in the world, Shanghai was an obvious centre of world commerce.

The economic boom was accompanied by an accelerated urbanisation. Like an exciting magnet, Shanghai attracted people from all over the country and indeed all over the world with various hopes and dreams. The first large-scale immigration after the opening of Shanghai took place in the 1850s because of the Taiping Uprising. A enormous number of Chinese refugees flocked into the foreign settlements at Shanghai. Since then the population of Shanghai increased rapidly year after year, which greatly influenced the development of Shanghai and the foreign settlements. In 1915 the total population of the city was estimated at 1,500,000. In 1920, the population of Shanghai was about 2,000,000. In 1923, the total population had increased to 3,133,782, of whom 69,797 were foreigners. By 1935 Shanghai, with a population in excess of 3,425,000, was the fifth largest city in the world, after London, New York, Tokyo and Berlin.

The population of both foreigners and Chinese in the British Settlement grew rapidly after 1850. The foreign population grew fast, but the Chinese grew faster and became the vast majority of the population in the Settlement. In 1860 about 20,000 Chinese and 569 foreigners lived in the British Settlement. In 1865 the first municipal census of the British Settlement listed 90,587 Chinese and 2,235 foreigners. In 1870 the population of the Settlement decreased in the depression in the aftermath of the Taiping Uprising. A recovery was made by 1880, and each subsequent census showed substantial gains. The foreign population in Shanghai increased at the rate of 4.6 per cent from 1880 to 1895.

After the Sino-Japanese War of 1894—95 a great number of Japanese immigrated into Shanghai. A census of 1915 listed a total of 620,401 Chinese and 20,924 foreigners living in the International Settlement. Another population boom was brought by the immigration of White Russians following the Russian Revolution. The foreign population in Shanghai in 1920 was 23,307, which was almost equal to the sum total of those in Hankow, Tientsin and Hong Kong. [Table 2-1][9] In next decade the number was doubled to 59,188. The foreign inhabitants were 73,040 in 1936. In other words, the annual growth of the population was at the mean rate of 3.7 per cent between 1930 and 1936. The two foreign settlements were densely populated, accommodating 44 per cent of Shanghai's population of three million. [Table 2-2]

[Table 2-1] Comparison of foreign population in four cities in 1920

City	Population
Hankow	2,500
Tientsin	8,700
Hong Kong	13,000
Total above	24,200
Shanghai	23,307

[Table 2-2] Population of Shanghai in 1935

	Chinese	Foreigners	Total
International Settlement	1,120,860	28,583	1,149,443
French Concession	479,294	18,899	498,193
Chinese Municipality	2,089,007	10,125	2,099,132
Total	3,689,161	57,607	3,746,768

Shanghai was not one city, but was cut up into three parts: the Chinese part of the city—Greater Shanghai, the Anglo-American area—the International Settlement and the French Concession. Westerners in Shanghai called themselves "Shanghailanders" distinguished from the native Shanghainese. The Shanghailanders administrated the settlements by their own Municipal Councils and their own laws and regulations. They built wharves, roads and public works without permission of Chinese authorities. They had their special postal service. They controlled Shanghai's economy through their banks, merchants and moneylenders.

They used their mother languages in business with Chinese merchants. Their culture soaked into the society with the help of the press, religious and educational institutions. They had their social life in their sporting clubs, charitable organisations, folklore societies and their bars and pubs. It was no different for them whether they lived in Shanghai or in Europe, indeed, life in Shanghai was possibly much better and more relaxed. They had put down their roots in Shanghai and saw it as their paradise.

"Foreign Shanghai was a British city."[10] It has been generally recognised that the Shanghai International Settlement was an informally colonial piece of the Empire "made in England". Although the Settlement was officially "international", it was "about as international as the Tower of London or Westminster Abbey".[11] The British dominated foreign Shanghai both in politics and economy. Of the members of the Shanghai Municipal Council, the British were preponderant, and the Court and the Municipal Council were structured on British lines. They possessed the largest banks and trading firms. According to an estimate of 1927, the British controlled almost a third of £200 million of the total foreign investment in Shanghai, and in the International Settlement, the British held £44 million of the £52.6 million worth of foreign registered land under their names. The British controlled the police forces, the Volunteers and all the principal departments of civil service—nearly ninety per cent of the municipal employees were British. The Financial Department, the Public Works Department and the Electricity Department were all in British hands. They administered the Tram Company, the Gas

Company and Waterworks. The British was the largest, the wealthiest, the most powerful and the most influential foreign group both in the Settlement and in Shanghai.

Tientsin was the leading port in northern China, whose name literally means "Emperor's Ferry". Its first Western visitor came from Holland in 1655. The commercial reputation of the city can be judged by the following description from the Dutch embassy: "The city ... much set forth with temples; very populous and so full of trade, that hardly the like commerce is to be found in any other part of China; ...Here is also the staple of all commodities this being a free port, and no customs paid for any goods exported or imported."[12] In fact, Tientsin had been a place of commercial and strategical importance since the Yuan dynasty (1279—1368). It owed this importance to its favourable geographical position. Tientsin is located at the north-eastern extremity in the North China plain, at the junction of five rivers and canals, and lies about 35 miles inland from the sea, all of which make it the chief distribution port for the northern plain and north-western regions of China, and the gateway to the capital, Peking. It was famous as a cosmopolitan centre long before the arrival of the European trading community.

Tientsin was the focus of British attempts to establish a foothold in northern China. The first serious British efforts to penetrate North China were made by Lord Macartney and Lord Amherst in 1793 and 1816. They docked in Tientsin on their way to Peking, the capital of the Ch'ing Impire. Their ships brought presents

from the English Queen to the Chinese Emperor in the hope that China would open its northern ports to Western trade, but their efforts failed. In 1858 when Lord Elgin came to Tientsin again, his ships were armed with guns. Tientsin was finally opened to the foreigner "to reside and trade there under the same conditions as at any other treaty ports in China."[13] Britain, France and the United States first established their concessions in 1860, and Germany, Japan, Russia, Italy, Belgium and Austria-Hungary established theirs in succession between 1895 and 1902. [Table 2-3] [Map 2-4] Each produced buildings bearing its own national image.

[Table 2-3] Foreign concessions in Tientsin 1860—1943

	Date Granted	Date Expired	Area (Acres)
British Original Concession	1860	1943	76
British Municipal Extension	1897	1943	253.7
British Extra-mural Extension	1903	1943	588.3
American Concession	1860	1896	22.7
Total British Municipal Area			940.7
French Concession	1860,1900	1943	430.3
Japanese Concession	1896,1900	1943	324.4
Italian Concession	1901	1943	117
German Concession	1895,1901	1917	369.3
Austro-Hungarian Concession	1902	1917	150
Russian Concession	1900	1924	809.4
Belgian Concession	1902	1929	216.5
Total Area in Foreign Hands			3357.6

[Map 2-4] Foreign concessions in Tientsin in 1915.

The development of Tientsin made marked progress from the end of nineteenth century. Economic prosperity steadily grew despite the temporary decline in the 1900 Boxer Uprising. In addition to its position as the leading commercial port of North China, Tientsin was also China's second largest manufacturing city after Shanghai. As an important import and export centre, Tientsin contributed much of China's total foreign trade value. By the end of the nineteenth century, Tientsin had grown to more than 200,000 people. Its maritime orientation and its proximity to the national capital fostered the growth of population and ethnic diversity. In accordance with the investigations in 1906,[14] there was a population about 400,000 Chinese, including 6,341 foreigners from Japan, Europe and America. By 1938, the population had increased to 1,500,000, including foreign residents from forty-one countries over the world. With the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War in 1937, Tientsin was occupied by the Japanese until 1945.

Shanghai and Tientsin are different from the mild and even maritime climate of Britain. They are rather cold in winter and quite hot during summer. In comparison with the annual mean temperatures of 52 F (11 C) in England and 47 F (8 C) in Scotland, Shanghai's average annual temperature is about 58 F (14 C), and Tientsin's average annual temperature is 56 F (13 C). The climate of Shanghai is not fostered much by its maritime location, with a July average of 80 F (27 C), and a January average of 37 F (3 C). Although Shanghai is situated in the maritime zone, its climate has been described as "one-third of the year tropical and two-

third temperate". A French journalist Jean Fontenoy complained that the weather in Shanghai was hot like Saigon and cold like Moscow.

Despite Tientsin's proximity to the sea, it has a distinctly continental climate with sharp daily and seasonal temperature fluctuations. The July maximum averages about 84 F (29 C), and the average January minimum is about 56 F (13 C). During the rainy season there was often danger of flood. Referring to the fine climate but waterlogged terrain in Tientsin, a little English girl delivered herself of a rhyme, "hao tien woo ti, hao ti woo tien", meaning that there were nice heavens but depressing earth in Tientsin, and nice earth but depressing heavens in England.

The growth of foreign trade in Shanghai and Tientsin brought with them Western technology and industry, a new knowledge of foreign nations, and also Western architecture. Shanghai and Tientsin became centres for the dissemination of Western civilisation. Many influential reformist agitators, who introduced Western science, politics and institutions into China, such as Wang T'ao[15] in Shanghai and Yen Fu[16] in Tientsin converged there. Shanghai and Tientsin led China's industry and commerce. Chinese- and foreign-owned factories were heavily concentrated there, and about sixty per cent of total foreign trade of China were based on Shanghai and Tientsin.[17] In architecture, Shanghai and Tientsin embodied the achievement of modern Chinese architecture, with the most innovative and modern buildings in China.

Foreign observers emphasised the European influences in Shanghai and Tientsin and their differences from the rest of China, but, in spite of Western appearances, Shanghai and Tientsin were, in the final analysis, predominantly Chinese in character. Approximate 98 per cent of the population were Chinese.[18] Western influences did not dominate Chinese society. The European residents in Shanghai found that "the Chinese themselves, in daily touch with foreigners, are nonetheless continents away. To the Chinese, we are magnificent barbarians. They copy our luxuries and convenience, but they scorn our philosophies and our habits."[19] Most Chinese saw Shanghai and Tientsin as causes for humiliation because the cities built on Chinese soil by Chinese hand did not yet belong completely to China. However, Shanghai and Tientsin represented modernity in China, where Western imperialists and adventurers enjoyed their privileges, Chinese capitalists developed wealth, and Chinese Communists put their trust in the emergence of an urban proletariat.

Since the Communist victory in 1949, the course of Shanghai and Tientsin has taken another direction, but they have still retained their prominent roles in China's industry, trade and culture. Shanghai and Tientsin are both municipalities at provincial level directly responsible to the central government. Today, Shanghai is a municipality of twelve million people. It covers an area of 6,340 square kilometres, in which Shanghai proper has 276 square kilometres with seven million inhabitants. The Tientsin

Municipality spreads over 11,305 square kilometres and contains a population of eight million, of which four million people live in the city proper of 200 square kilometres.

2.3 Life of the British in Shanghai and Tientsin

The British residents in China included English, Scottish, Welsh and Irish, each of whom had societies in the treaty ports. They could be categorised into four kinds: first came the businessmen, merchants and bankers; second were the professionals, doctors and engineers; third were the officials; and finally there were the missionaries. The British community had been the largest foreign group in China until 1915 when the Japanese inhabitants became major foreign population.

Shanghai mirrored the British presence in China. The British came to Shanghai via India from England after months of voyage in the Pacific, or they travelled by train from Moscow, via Siberia, Manchuria, then by boat from Darien to Shanghai. The new arrivals first sight of the city was a wide curve of grand and eloquent waterfront. He would have found himself facing both exotic and familiar — "the Liverpool in the East"[20]. To many foreigners, Shanghai was all that could be seen of China.

British residents in Shanghai grew from twenty-five people in 1843 to nearly three hundred in 1860, men greatly outnumbering women. Only five years later, the British

community was enlarged to one thousand three hundred people. Before the First World War there were five thousand and five hundred British residents, and during the "golden period" of the 1920s the number went on growing and by 1930 there were 8,449. After the Second World War, there were still some four thousand British people in Shanghai.

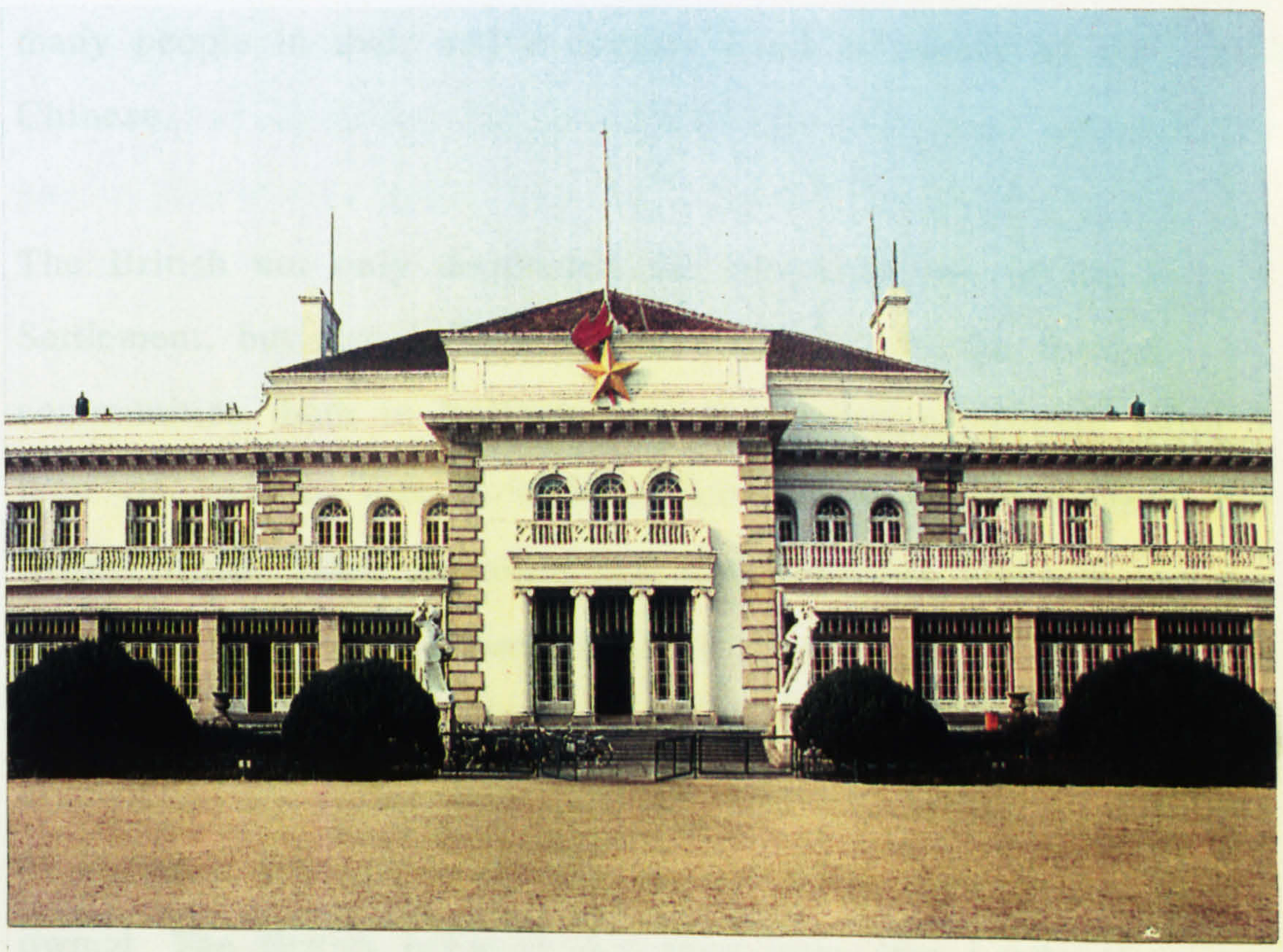
The foreign settlements were outside the local Chinese city on the waterfront, where shipments moved ashore to the warehouses within the compounds of the trading firms. Generally speaking, the major business and financial activities of Shanghai concentrated in the International Settlement, while the French Concession, outside its sectional retail commercial districts was largely residential in character. British businessmen mostly settled in the French Concession where they could find spacious houses in pleasant boulevards or build homes at considerably cheaper cost than in England.

Wang T'ao, a famous Chinese scholar of the late Ch'ing dynasty, described his impression of Shanghai: "The Europeans build terraced houses on the creek: windows glisten under the sun; low walls surround the house; flowers and trees line up in the garden." He had visited a British family in Shanghai. The house had "a curved screen and a moon-like doorway. The decorated door opened quietly. The silver hangers matched with the green curtains, and the floors were covered with carpets and rugs. The bell on the wall was for the servant, and the knocker on the door was for the guest."[21] Lady Hayter, in her stay in Shanghai with

was for the guest."[21] Lady Hayter, in her stay in Shanghai with her husband, Sir William Hayter, recalled renting a villa with lattice windows and fake timbering, standing behind high walls, "Just like a dentist's home in Woking".[22]

Lord Kadoorie in Hong Kong still remembers clearly his parents' house in Shanghai, the Marble Hall, which was built in 1923. It was a white house of two storeys with a verandah towards a lawn. Its ballroom was 65 feet high, 80 feet long and 50 feet wide, decorated with a grand Italian marble fireplace and 18-foot chandeliers lit by 3,600 electric light bulbs in different colours.[23]

[2-1] Marble Hall, 1923, by Russian architect, now Shanghai Children's Palace, Shanghai.



In fact, the life of the British in Shanghai was as good as in England, or even better. They would be lucky at home to have a charwoman come in once a week, but here they could staff their flats as a princely menage.[24] Even the poorest office junior could afford at least one personal servant. Life in foreign Shanghai was very pleasant not only for taipan, but for any white man. Every role of Dickens's stories could find a happy ending in Shanghai. After seeing British life in 1930s Shanghai, Cecil Chesterton, an English writer, was shocked by comparison with the life in Newcastle-Upon-Tyne at the time, where the tenements were still "swarming with humanity" and dependent on a single tap in the courtyard and an outside lavatory.[25] He advised the better-off British in China to make a trip to the north of England and Scotland to visit the over-crowding slums there, and to see how many people in their native country lived as poorly as the Chinese.

The British not only dominated the administration of the Settlement, but also influenced the social life of the foreign communities, both in business and in recreation. Among more than six hundred foreign trading firms, forty per cent were British firms. They organised and ran first-class clubs in Shanghai, such as the Shanghai Club, the Shanghai Race Club, the Country Club and Shanghai Paper Hunt Club. Life in Shanghai was divided sharply along class lines. A man was known by his type of business, the club he belong to, and the number of ponies he owned. The British believed that they were "the Lords of

Shanghai", and called themselves the Shanghailanders.

However, not all British people shared this superior attitude. Arthur Ransome, an English writer who visited Shanghai in 1927, blasted the British of Shanghai in the *Guardian* on 2nd May 1927 for their colonialist plunder and treatment of the Chinese. He also blasted their unthinking loyalty to Shanghai even when it ran counter to the interests of their own country. "English prestige" said he, "is at stake when their interests are threatened, but unless English policy coincides with their own they are prepared at any moment to be the Ulster of the East."

There was not a Governor sent by the Queen, while the Shanghai Taotai of the Imperial government had little influence. There was only the self-governed Municipal Council of businessmen, which was like "a select party of top taipans". The British residents paid taxes neither to China nor to Britain. Shanghai was "probably the last of the world's great cities that could be regarded, in the tradition of Genoa and Venice and the great Hansa towns, as a republic living and dominated by the trader."[26]

Shanghai was a British merchants' utopia, in which Shakespeare might have found more prototypes for his "Merchant of Venice". The story of Edward Ezra is an illustration of the British in China. His rise depended on the opium trade. He organised and headed the Shanghai Opium Combine. Through the importation of opium from British India into China with the powerful backing of the British Empire, Ezra amassed a fortune estimated between

twenty and thirty million dollars. With it he proceeded to become a leading citizen of the International Settlement, getting himself elected to the chairmanship of the Municipal council. He invested heavily in many real-estate projects, bought large properties and a controlling interest in one of the local foreign newspapers. His story is still well-sold today.[27] Shanghai set the style of the foreign presence in China, style that Lady Jellicoe who grew up in Shanghai summed up: "Of course it was the spoiling life, let's face it, it was idiotically spoiling."[28]

Echoing Lady Jellicoe's words, the comparable life of the British in Tientsin was described in an investigation by a Japanese group in 1909: "The British businessmen have lost their fine qualities, enthusiasm and assiduity. In fact, their business mostly relies on Chinese compradors. They seek pleasure and spend their time in parties, tennis courts, the racecourse, and riding, hunting and other games. They not only work shortly every day, but also suspend business on every excuse. They usually get together by billiard tables or bar counters, or stay up to play cards in clubs every night. To sum up, they indulge in luxury and extravagance to seek ease and comfort."[29] Since the first British subject was born in Tientsin on the 22nd September 1861, the British population in Tientsin grew from some dozen people in 1860 to 1,650 in the early twentieth century[30]. The British community in Tientsin was the second largest British society in China after Shanghai.

The British in China were not colonials, but they did exercise

colonial power and arrogance. For a hundred years, despite living side by side and depending on each other, the British and Chinese conducted a campaign of mutual contempt. The harmony and co-operation that spasmodically existed between India and Britain did not find its counterpart in China.

The social deference that was vanishing from Europe was found in the European concessions in China, which remained as out of touch as ever with the changes back in Europe. "Both Europeans and Americans love China, because it is so completely flattering to the Anglo-Saxon sense of racial superiority. Democracy become a memory of another clime, while the present is a continuing experience of real supremacy."[31] On Avenue Joffrey in Shanghai or Race Course Road in Tientsin, Englishmen could build a home society of the past. They had many privileges from the Treaties or from their own virtues in governance. There was no threat of a socialist movement or a Labour Party. They did not need to suppress their colonialist and racist attitudes and sentiments.

The British were responsible for the discrimination against the Chinese that ranged from political rights to daily life. Milly Bennett, an American, found in 1927 that "practically all of the British in Shanghai were die-hard reactionaries, and that the only way to gain access to the business and social circles that they controlled, was to echo their hidebound dogma which came to something like that the Chinese was a dirty, low, mongrel race, that they should be everlastingly grateful for being booted around by the extremely superior British", even though "these

British arbiters were small fry".[32] The signboard "No Chinese, No Dogs" on the entrance of the Public Gardens of the International Settlement in Shanghai was not removed until 1928. By 1945 at the end of the Second World War, the Chinese Nationalist government took over the cities from the Japanese. However, the cities were not purged of a century of shame until the establishment of the People's Republic when the Red generals drove the foreigners out from Shanghai and Tientsin.

3

Foundation on Colonial Tradition, 1843—1893

Imprints of British India

Colonial Chinese Style

Gothic Buildings

The opening of Shanghai in 1843 and Tientsin in 1860 to Western trade brought with it the first appearance and development of Western architecture in China. Since the first unequal treaties negotiated between China and Britain, house building had been contained in the provisions. In the first two decades, British contact with the treaty ports was characterised by the establishment of embryonic colonial settlements. By the late 1860s, changes took place in both architecture and the urban fabric, which were largely the results of the growth of foreign settlements and the addition of foreign-style towns and buildings. The Indo-Chinese opium trade associated Anglo-Indian architecture with the first foreigners' houses in China. Borrowing the colonial experiences, various versions of European-style buildings combined with climate, local building techniques and materials made up the first generation of Western architecture in China. The colonial Chinese style was a notable architectural experiment during the time.

3.1 Imprints of British India

The history of the British buildings in China is parallel to the history of modern China after the 1840 Opium War. In his embassy to China in 1793, Macartney predicted that China would change its belief and be learning from the West in future. His assumption was verified in half a century. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the British knocked the Chinese door open by gun power, and imposed the treaty system on China. The Treaty of Nanking of August 1842 concluded an old Sino-foreign relationship and heralded the birth of a semi-colonial society. The Supplementary Treaty of the Bogue of October 1843 permitted British trade and residence in China's five ports, including Shanghai. Tientsin was opened by the 1860 Peking Convention after China was defeated by the Anglo-French Allies in the Second Opium War in 1858—60.

A series of Sino-foreign treaties between 1840 and 1860 drove China into a semi-colonial society. These treaties stipulated that "British subjects, with their families and establishment, shall be allowed to reside for the purpose of carrying on their mercantile pursuits, without molestation or restraint"[1] in the treaty ports, and "the number of houses built or rented will be reported annually to the said local officials by the Consul for the information of their respective Viceroys and Governors, but the number cannot be limited, seeing that it will be greater or less, according to the resort of merchants."[2] "British subjects, whether at the ports or at other places," could "build or open houses,

warehouses, churches, hospitals, or burial grounds," according to their agreements for the land and buildings at equitable rates[3]. These provisions signified the start of British imprints on Chinese cities.

Western-style buildings had appeared in China through tradesmen and missionaries before the British arrived. Portuguese traders arrived in Canton as early as 1561 and negotiated the lease of Macao from the local authorities. They built fortifications and houses in Macao. In 1637, Captain Weddell anchored the first fleet of English merchant vessels in the Pearl River, and in 1684 the East India Company was allowed to set up trading agencies in Canton. The best known buildings in the Western style in the early nineteenth century were the so-called the factories, or "*gong hong*", built for the merchants of the East India Company outside the city of Canton, at a place called the "Thirteen Factories", in which the merchants were allowed to live only for the trading season, leaving their families at Macao. They were two- or three-storeyed buildings of timber and brick in a luxurious Renaissance style. [3-1][4] These early warehouses later became the prototype of colonial architecture of nineteenth-century Shanghai.

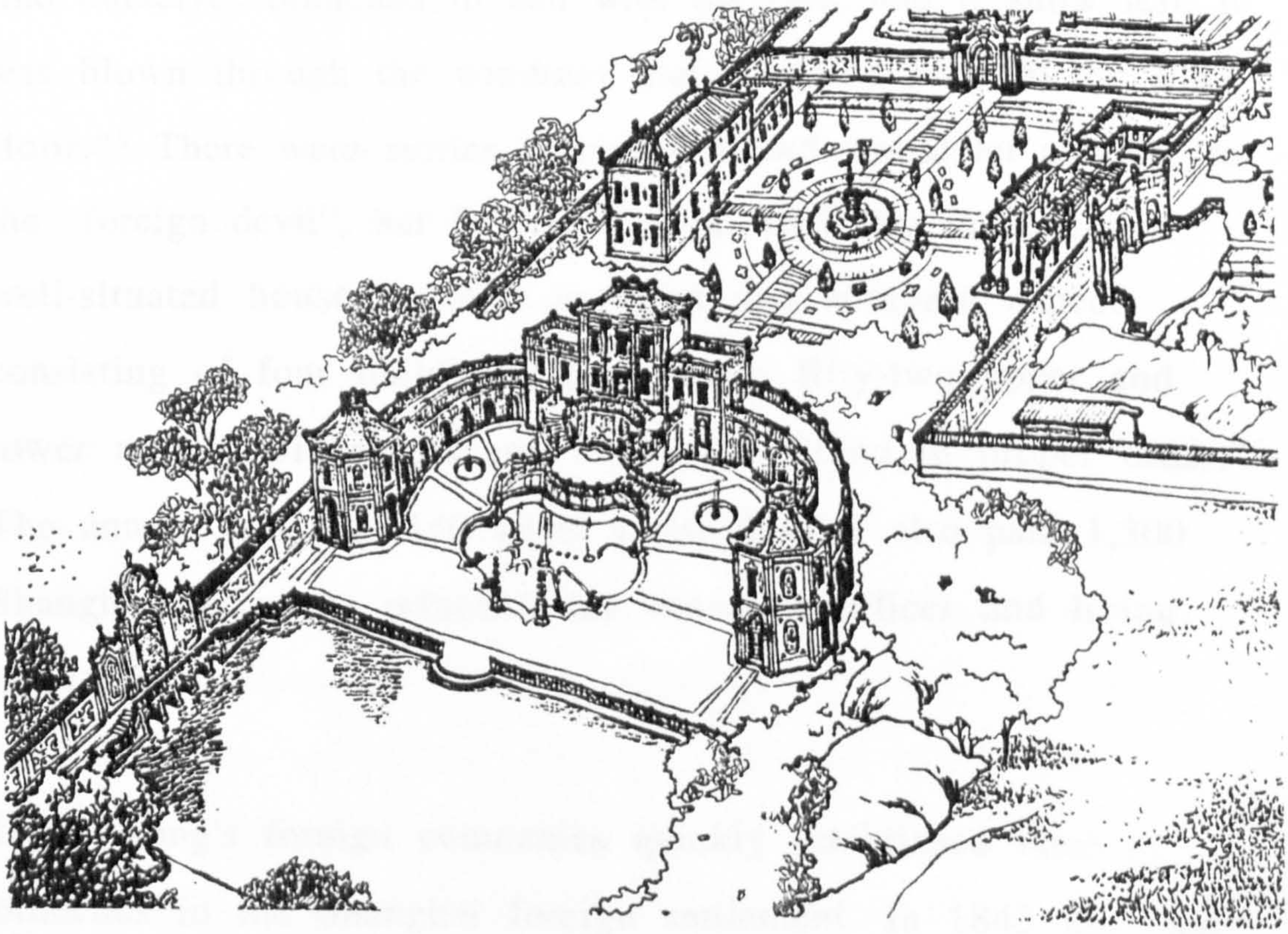
Western architecture was also brought into China at the same time by missionaries from Europe. Catholic missionary activity began in earnest in the 1580s with the admission of the Italian Jesuit, Matteo Ricci, into the country, but it is said that the first Catholic church had been built in Peking in 1299 by Giovanni di

Monte Corvino, also an Italian Jesui. The Protestant undertaking in China began in 1807, with the arrival of Robert Morrison of the London Missionary Society, who first translated the Bible into Chinese, but he neither reached the capital nor built any church in China. In spite of a few churches, there was no important trace of Western influence on Chinese architecture of the period. The largest and most splendid constructions of Western architecture during that period were those for the Emperor's Summer Palace in Peking. These Italian Rococo palaces with coloured glazed-tile roofs and other Chinese decorations were built between 1745 and 1759 under the design and supervision of F. Giuseppe Castiglione, an Italian Jesuit, and his colleagues. The buildings were so alien and strange to the Emperor that he named one of the palaces the Amusing Strange Funny building (*xie qi qu*). [3-2] The Emperor's interest in Western buildings encouraged a fashion for the Western style in late Ch'ing building decoration, especially in the shop fronts. These ornate ornaments were a sort of Chinese version of European chinoiserie.

However, the first significant contacts of Europe with China did not bring about change in the structure of Chinese society, nor in Chinese architecture. Although Western-style ornaments were to be found in Chinese houses, there was not any real Western influence on Chinese architecture because of the lack of knowledge of Western architecture. Nor there was direct connection between the eighteenth-century Italian Rococo palace in Peking and the nineteenth-century British trading house in Shanghai.

[3-1] Gong hongs at Canton, oil painting, 1807, artist unknown. (upper)

[3-2] Xie Qi Qu, Summer Palace, Peking, 1747—59, by F. Giuseppe Castiglione; destroyed in 1860. (lower)



It was not until the middle of the nineteenth century that the truly radical development of Western architecture in Chinese treaty port cities came about as a result of the expansion of European powers in China. Following the Treaty of Nanking, the first foreign settlement was established in Shanghai in 1843. It occupied a space nearly square, facing the Whangpoo, and surrounded by creeks. In the first couple of years the Settlement was still a desert. Hardly any Western houses were built.

The first British consul, Captain Balfour, and his staff rented Chinese houses in the walled Chinese city. In 1844 the London Missionary Society opened its first hospital in a Chinese house. Robert Fortune, remembering his lodging in Shanghai with Balfour in the first days of the opening of Shanghai, wrote: "Our bed-rooms were miserably cold: often, in the morning, we would find ourselves drenched in bed with the rain; and if snow fell, it was blown through the windows and formed a 'wreath' on the floor."[5] There were stories that no landlord would let a house to the “foreign devil”, but Balfour had no difficulty in renting a well-situated house “with a northern and southern aspect consisting of four buildings that contain fifty-two upper and lower rooms, with wells and reservoirs behind in proper order.”[6] The annual rent was 640 silver taels. Balfour also paid 1,300 Shanghai dollars to refurnish his consulate offices and living quarters.

Hong Kong's foreign companies quickly established their branches in the Shanghai foreign settlement. In 1843 the first

twenty-five British subjects enrolled in the Shanghai foreign community. The foreign settlement consisted of a dozen of trading firms and half a dozen houses, such as Jardine, Matheson & Co., Gibb, Livingstone & Co., Holliday Wise & Co., Wolcott, Bats & Co., and Dent & Co.. There were only a few employees in each company.

1845 saw the settlement take another historic step— the proclamation of the first Land Regulations that were regarded as the Magna Carta of the Settlement. The Regulations, twenty-three in number, confirmed the existence of "the British Settlement" in Shanghai, and formed in some respects the basis for all subsequent enactments governing the life of Shanghai's cosmopolitan community. The Regulations also contained the provisions regarding the method of acquiring land in the area set aside, the laying out and repair of roads, building of jetties, bridges, drains, and a public market. According to the Regulations, three British merchants were nominated by the British consul to constitute the Committee of Roads and Jetties in 1846, in charge of the early development of the Settlement.

"An English town has sprung up magically", reported a surprised French missionary when he visited Shanghai in the summer of 1847.[7] The British Settlement in Shanghai was built according to Victorian town-planning principles. Starting from the curved waterfront, the rest of the roads were set out like a chess board, all crossing one another at right angles. A small church, Holy Trinity, and a hotel, the Victoria, were built in 1847. The first

foreign bank, the Oriental Banking Corporation, was established in 1848, and a shop, Hall & Holtz, also opened. In the following decades more and more buildings were set up. The foreign population had grown to some seventy firms with eight consulates and thirty-six Protestant missionaries. The Oriental Bank also found rivals in two other British banks. Along the edge of the Whangpoo, on land covered with mulberry trees and ancestral graves, foreign trading houses like Jardine, Matheson & Company and Dent & Company began building comfortable houses. The waterfront began ranging with foreign houses, behind which were Chinese houses with winding mud passages between them. By the end of the 1850s, this waterfront comprised a two-mile stretch of spacious two- or three-storeyed buildings with gardens. A few British houses in Shanghai were built of stone like those in Britain and India. Mostly they were of brick, plastered and painted, with roofs made of red tiles.

In Tientsin in 1860 a narrow land by the Haihe River was granted to the British concession. Captain Charles Gordon, "Chinese Gordon", surveyed and divided the land into lots that were held under ninety-nine year Crown leases. But many British immigrants were not sure if they could stay here so long. They built provisional rather than permanent houses. The buildings were primitive structures built of wood and brick. There were mainly warehouses and small temporary dwellings. The only buildings of some substance in the 1860s were only the trading house of Dent & Company and the Union Church. The former was rented later to be the Tientsin British consulate. The Union

church was built of brick at cost of £500, which was in the Early English Style. It had a simple nave with a lower chancel and a parapeted tower on its west gable.

The first Land Regulations for the Concession were promulgated in 1866, and a five-member Council was elected to levy the rates and taxes and to administer the building of the Concession. In 1872 when John Thomson, the photographer of the Queen, visited Tientsin, the city was suffering from the flood. Many houses on the river were damaged. In a ruined hotel building, Thomson found the English owner of the hotel lamenting the wreck of his property. The development of the Tientsin British Concession was rather slow in comparison with the Shanghai British Settlement. It was not until the 1880 that the Concession began to assume consistence and visible form.

The Anglo-Indo-Chinese opium trade was the fuse of the Sino-British Opium Wars, but it also brought Anglo-Indian architecture to China. Shanghai soon became the biggest port of opium importation, especially after the 1858 Tientsin Treaties. Opium, grown and manufactured in India and sold in China by British merchants, ranked as the most important single Chinese import. It was opium, not "Lancashire textiles", that saved British trade in the Far East and created fortunes for British merchants. The leading agency houses in China had developed as offshoots of the older-established East India agency houses that proliferated in England, Bombay and Calcutta. Leaders of the British communities in Shanghai and Tientsin all came from this

background, such as Jardine, Matheson, Dent and others. The buildings in the early days brought some imprints of British India and South-east Asia. A French resident wrote to his friend in 1847, saying that the buildings in the Shanghai British Settlement were "variform palaces" rather than European buildings.[8]

The warehouse usually showed the British connection with India, and was called *godown*, a word of Indian or South-east Asian origin, and the embankment on the Whangpoo was called the *Bund*, a term from colonial India that means embankment, or quay, in the Hindi language. The Bund was to become one of the most famous and expansive streets in the world. "Many of Shanghai's leading British firms were engaged in the importation of Indian opium into Shanghai. It was nothing in those days to see large warehouses along the Hong Kew Bund with Indian opium inscriptions on their doors."[9] The bungalow was also brought into China with the British from colonial India, and was perhaps the most popular building type at the time.

Since the trading firms usually came from Canton and Calcutta, they transferred tropical types of buildings to Shanghai without much consideration of the differences in geographical situation and climatic background. To the Chinese, the houses built by the British in the early days were strange. "These houses are not much to look at", wrote the *Annals of Shanghai* in 1849, "and not suitable for Shanghai's winter because of adoption of tropical forms."[10] These buildings were usually dressed in the

Romanesque colonial style and were in multi-functional use as dwelling, storage and place of business. As in Venice, the merchants lived over their cargoes. Downstairs were arched warehouse, strong-rooms and comprador's offices. Above were bedrooms, a common and dining room, and porcelain bath-rooms. The types of buildings for consulates, trading houses, and banks were all the same. Fortunately, some early paintings of Shanghai by Chinese artists in the 1860s bear testimony to the British influences on the city, and show us how those houses looked.

According to these invaluable paintings, the typical Shanghai hongs in the 1860s and the 1870s was usually a two- or three-storeyed square-planned building of mixed construction of wood and masonry with hipped roofs, and an arched porch or deep colonnaded verandahs. The Low House of Lindsay & Company [3-3] was located behind the Bund, surrounded with lush and mature plants and lawns. Its plan was based on a square symmetry dictated by the projecting central section and a flight of steps. The arcade was carried along two storeys and four sides of the exterior of the building, sheltering the high-ceiling rooms behind. The double-hipped roof was covered with red tiles, and the wall with yellow stucco. The French windows were shuttered to protect from the hot and sticky summer and cold and moist winter.

The Russell & Company building had the same pattern as the Low House, but it was distinct in its Indian Gothic style. Although it was common in Britain for the Gothic to be used in houses, it was

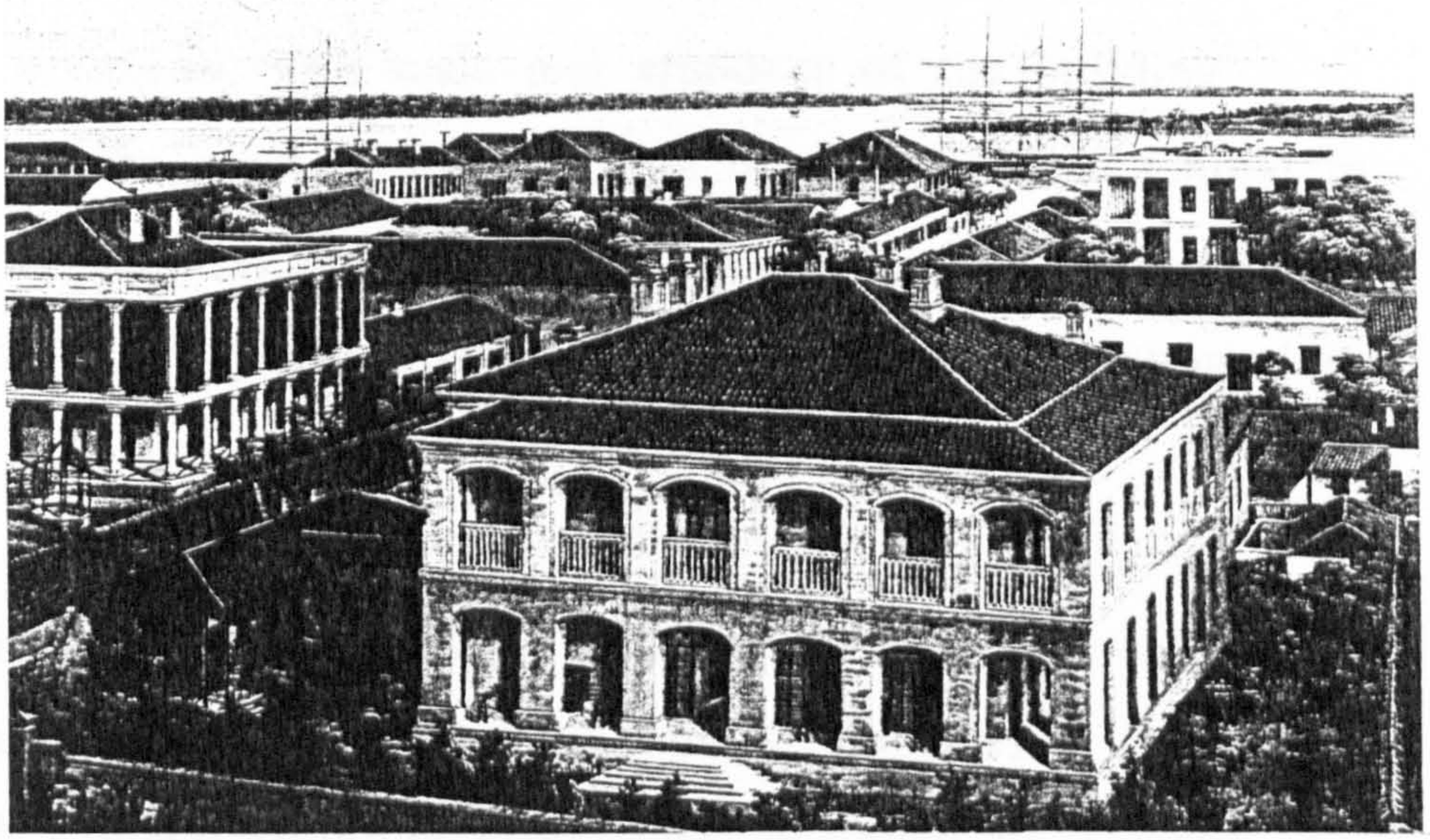
rare and novel in Shanghai. With its novel cast-iron ornamental loggias and glass windows, the Russell & Company building created a sensation.

The Commercial Bank of India, matching its name, was a typical town house of British-Indian origin. The major feature square-planned building was the peristyle that gave it both architectural and structural distinctions. The building was characterised with green shutters running between the columns on the upper floor and deep colonnades on the lower floor. The simply decorated parapet edged the high-pitched hipped roof. The lightness of the column-beam system was easily distinguished from the heavy manner of masonry buildings around. Its structural and technical advances were very noteworthy.

The club building in China is a nineteenth-century invention, and made its first appearance with the Shanghai Club, [3-4] which was built in 1864 after the end of the Taiping Uprising on the lot previously occupied by Hiram Fogg's Store. The English clubs derived from the coffee house of the seventeenth century. When the club building was introduced into the British colonies, its purpose was more political than recreational. Although in Britain, Charles Barry had favoured the Renaissance style for the British club building with his Traveller's (1829—32) and Reform Clubs (1837—41), the Shanghai Club was a Palladian building, with Anglo-Indian influences. The three-storeyed, symmetrical elevation carried rows of columns and was surmounted by a large pediment. The entrance was not under the usual attached

[3-3] Low House, Shanghai, water-colour, 1865—70, by Chow Kwa. (upper)

[3-4] Shanghai Club, 1864, architect unknown, the Bund, Shanghai, demolished in 1909. (lower)



portico, but recessed behind the arcaded corridor. There were a number of large rooms, such as library, lounge, smoking room, billiard room and dining room, so that relatively separated groups of people could frequent it at any one time.

The Shanghai Club only admitted the British male members, but no British man could pass through its grand portal without becoming a *taipan*. The scale and grandeur of the building marked it as the greatest colonial club of the period in China. In 1882 it was the first building in Shanghai to be lit by electrical lighting, only two years after the electric lamp was first used in Britain.

Some buildings unexpectedly anticipated some architectural features and designs of twentieth-century China. For example, the French Council Building (1863—64) designed by Knewitt, a British architect, was crowned with a dome on an octagonal drum and decorated with a clock on the pediment. Another example was the Augustine Heard & Company house. It had curved corners with corner windows, and had a porch of only three columns, instead of the usual verandahs. The house was so well-designed that its building type could match any house of the 1930s.

The history of modern bank building in China must have begun in Shanghai when British banking was introduced in the treaty port in the middle of the nineteenth century. Although the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation was not the first

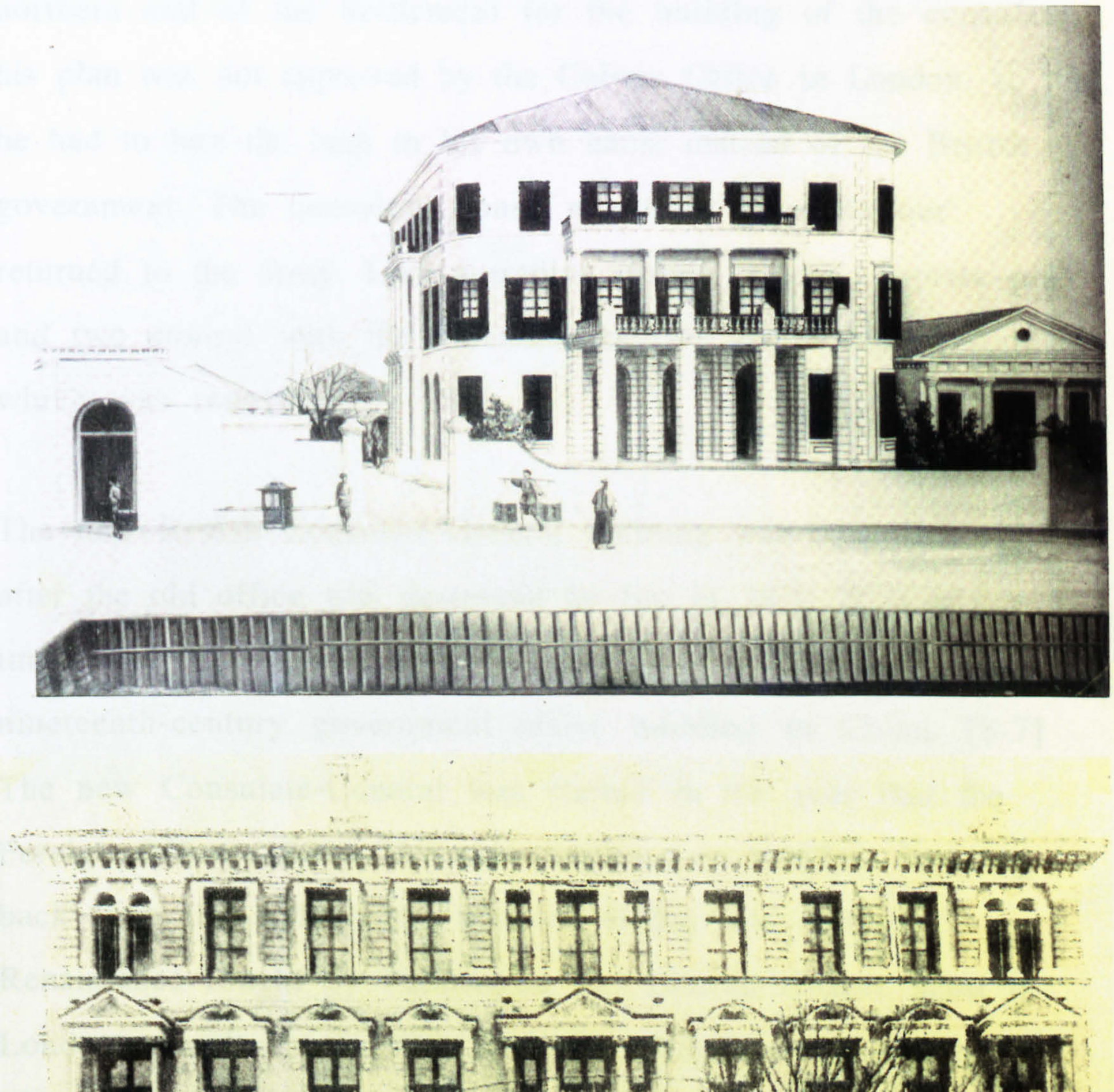
foreign bank in China, it soon became to the largest foreign bank in China.

The Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation was established in 1864 in Hong Kong and in Shanghai a year later. After the financial collapse in the late 1860s, the Bank was established to finance foreign trading firms and stabilise business. The Bank's Shanghai building of 1874 was a three-storeyed edifice in the late English Renaissance style. [3-6] This nine-bay facade was like a contemporary London mansion. The main entrance of the Bank was served by an impressive semicircular colonnade with rusticated Ionic columns. The lofty French windows on the first floor were given an extra importance by a Palladian window with triangular pediment was placed in the centre; on each side was three segmental pediment windows and a triangular pediment window with columns. On the second floor, a band of square windows were terminated by the Venetian double windows at either end. Above the ornamental frieze and bracketed cornice, chimney-stacks appeared on the hipped roof. The balcony balustrades were delicate English ironwork, which ran in the front of the French windows at the first floor level. In 1888, the semicircular porch was rebuilt and the verandah was changed into offices.

The British Consulate dates from 1850. It was undoubtedly the first of its sort in China, and possibly the very first in the world. When Balfour arrived in Shanghai on November 8th, 1843, the British modern consular service had only a twenty-five-year

[3-5] Augustine Heard & Company, Shanghai, Oil-painting, 1865, by Chow Kwo. (upper)

[3-6] Hong Kong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, 1874, by Messrs Turner & Company, Shanghai, demolished. (lower)

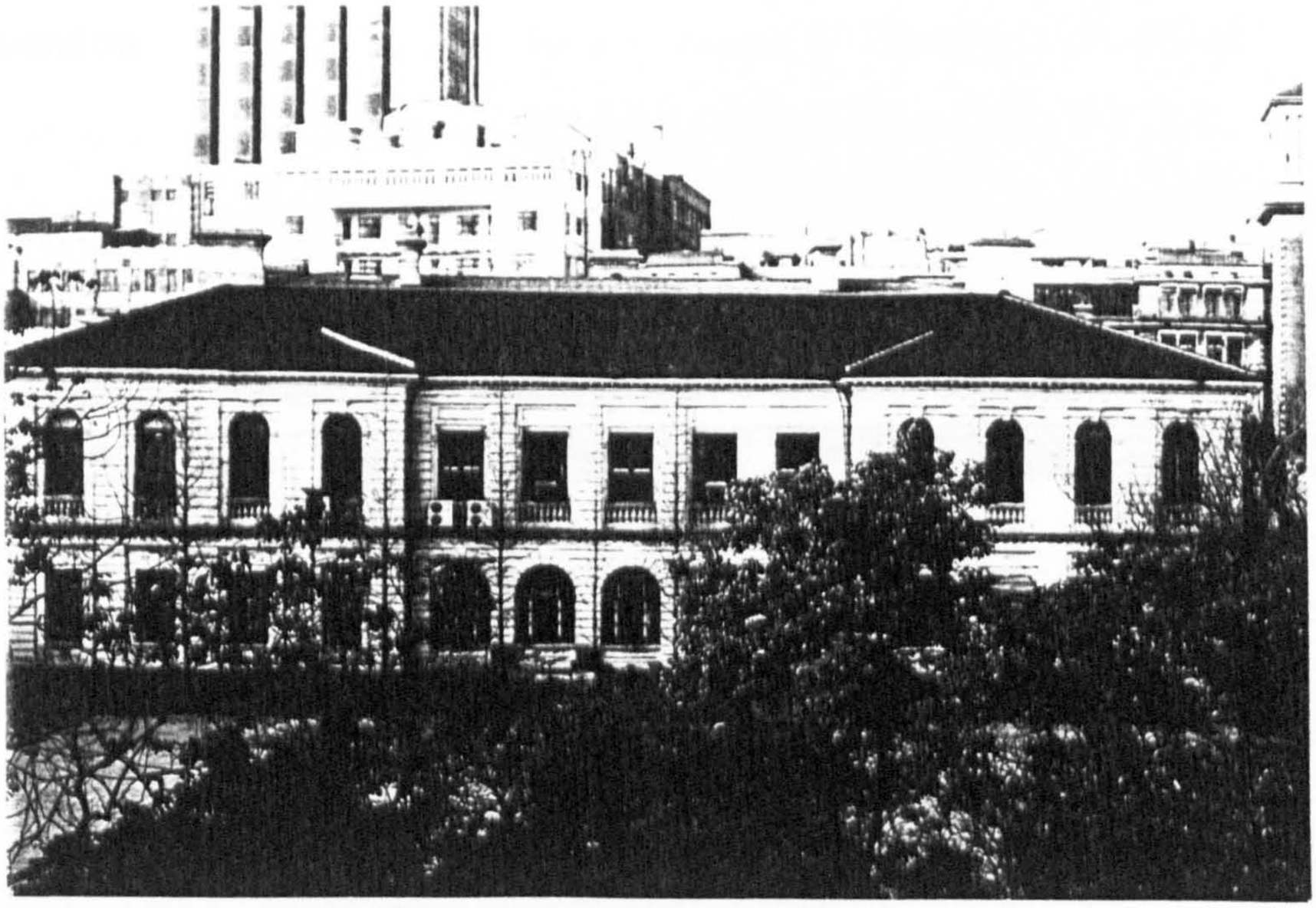


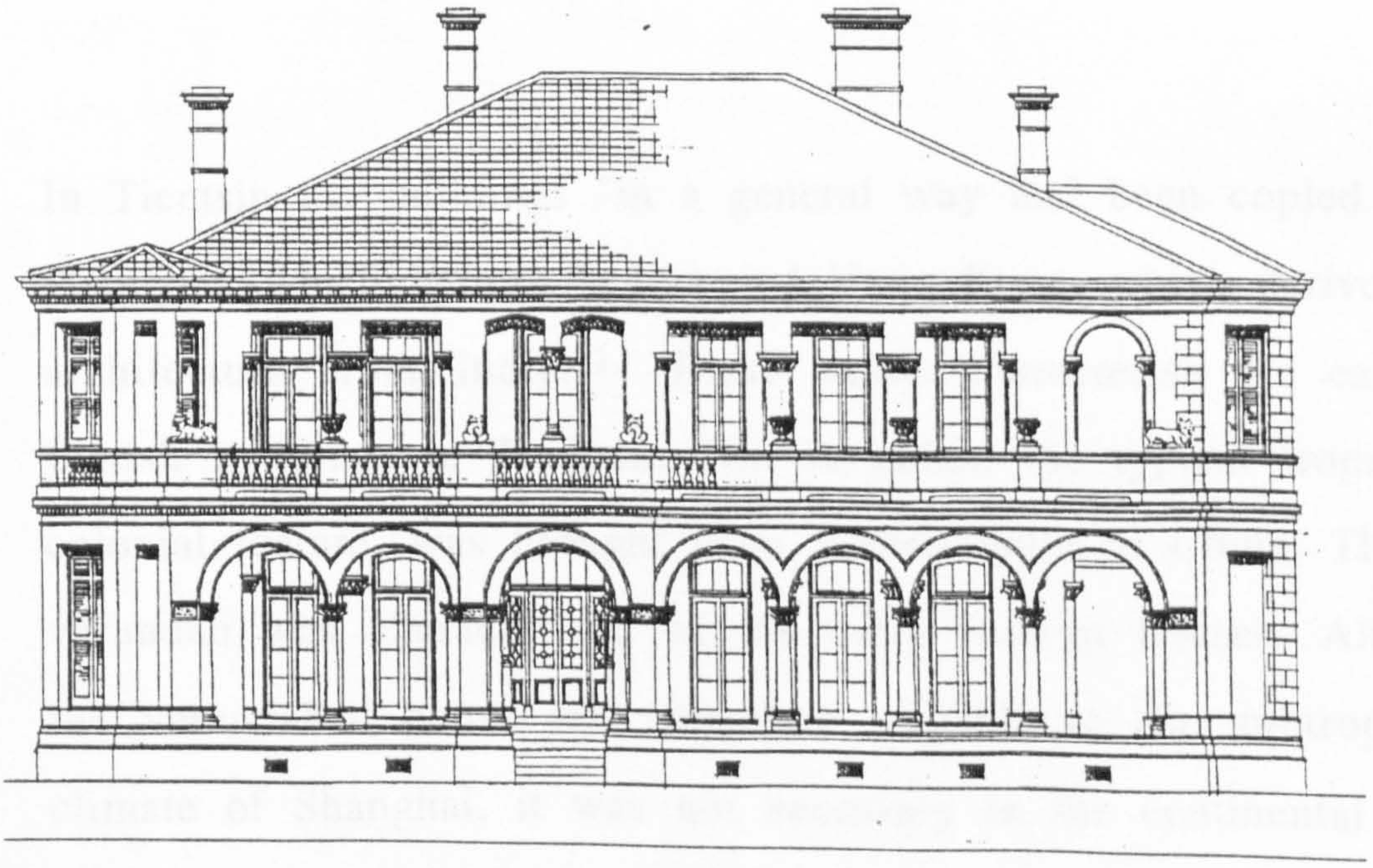
history. Balfour was scarcely a consul *en carriere*, and he still retained a post in the Indian army. Since the British government had ordained that British consulates were to be rented, few consulate houses were built. When Balfour bought an area at the northern end of the Settlement for the building of the consulate, his plan was not approved by the Colony Office in London, so that he had to buy the land in his own name instead of the British government. The consulate house was built after Balfour returned to the army. Like a trading house, it had a square plan and two storeys with the verandah facades and a hipped roof, which was renovated in 1852.

The new British Consulate-General building was built in 1871—73 after the old office was destroyed by fire in 1870. It is of importance as it introduced the classical elevation for nineteenth-century government office building in China. [3-7] The new Consulate-General was started in the year that the Foreign Office (1862—73) was completed in London. Standing back from the style battle between Gothic and Italian Renaissance fought by Palmerston and George Gilbert Scott in London, the design for the Shanghai consulate adopted the French classical style. On the facade of the building, there can be seen the use of banded classical wall surfaces without strongly projecting pilasters or columns. Distinct from the office, the residence for the consul was in the Italian manner. [3-8] The complex occupies a site of 7.1 acres of immaculate lawn and gardens. The new consulate office and residence were built of wood and brick. Almost all the building materials were imported

[3-7] British Consulate-General, 1871—73, by Robert H. Boyce of the Office of Works of Shanghai, now Shanghai Municipal government, 33 East Zhong-shan Road, Shanghai. (upper)

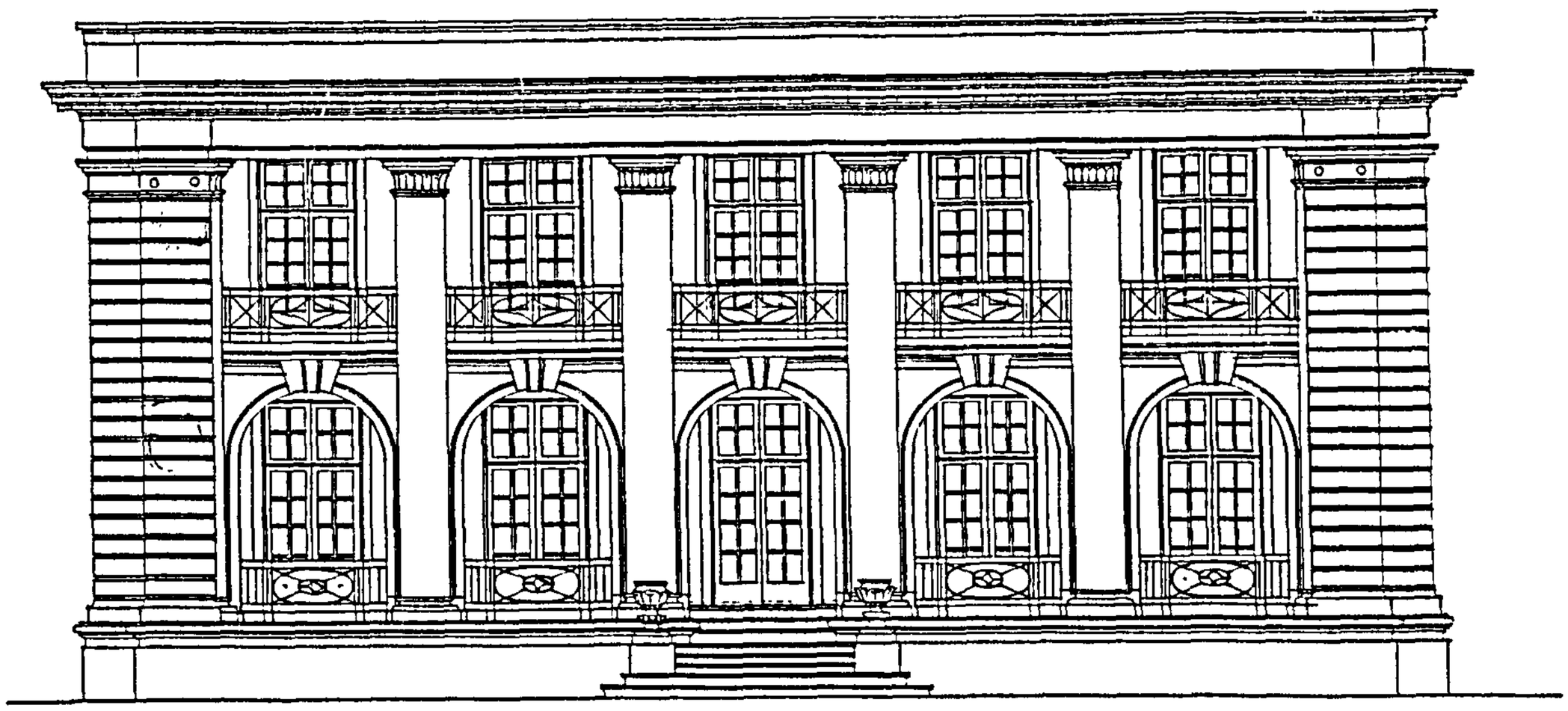
[3-8] British Consul's Residence, by Robert H. Boyce of the Office of Works, Shanghai, 33 East Zhong-shan Road, Shanghai. (lower)





from Britain. It has two storeys with the hipped roof now covered with Chinese tiles. The project cost £6,457. This French classical design anticipated by forty-five years the design for the British consulate in Canton by the London Office of Works. [3-9]

[3-9] Design for British Consulate in Canton, 1917, by the Office of Works, London.



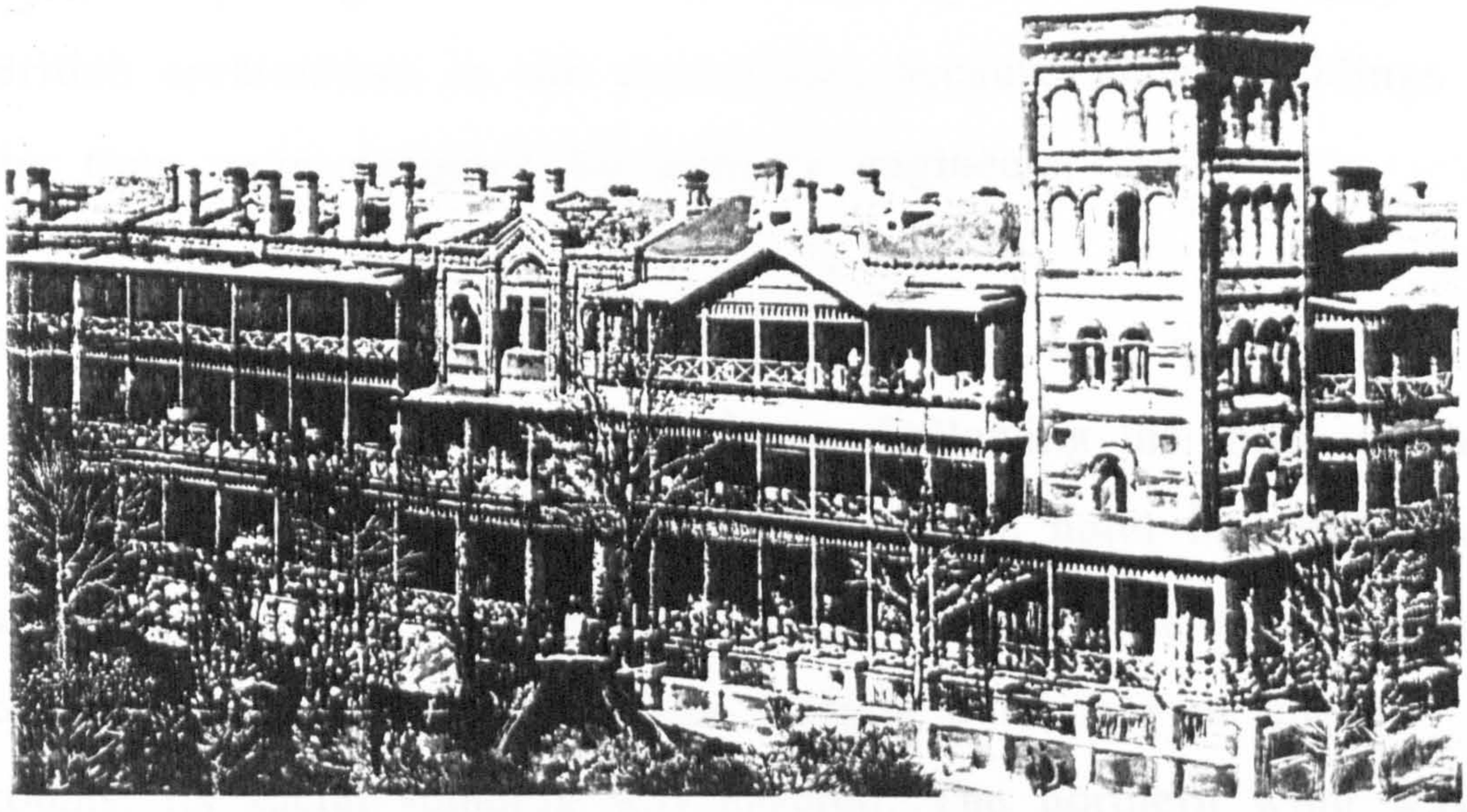
In Tientsin the buildings "in a general way had been copied from Shanghai, which in turn had copied Hong Kong, which derived its architecture from India."[11] These words characterise the early British buildings in Tientsin. The verandah, the typical tropical colonial feature, was brought from British India to China. The verandah was characteristic of the early foreign houses. Although the verandahed house was somehow suitable to the subtropical climate of Shanghai, it was not necessary in the continental

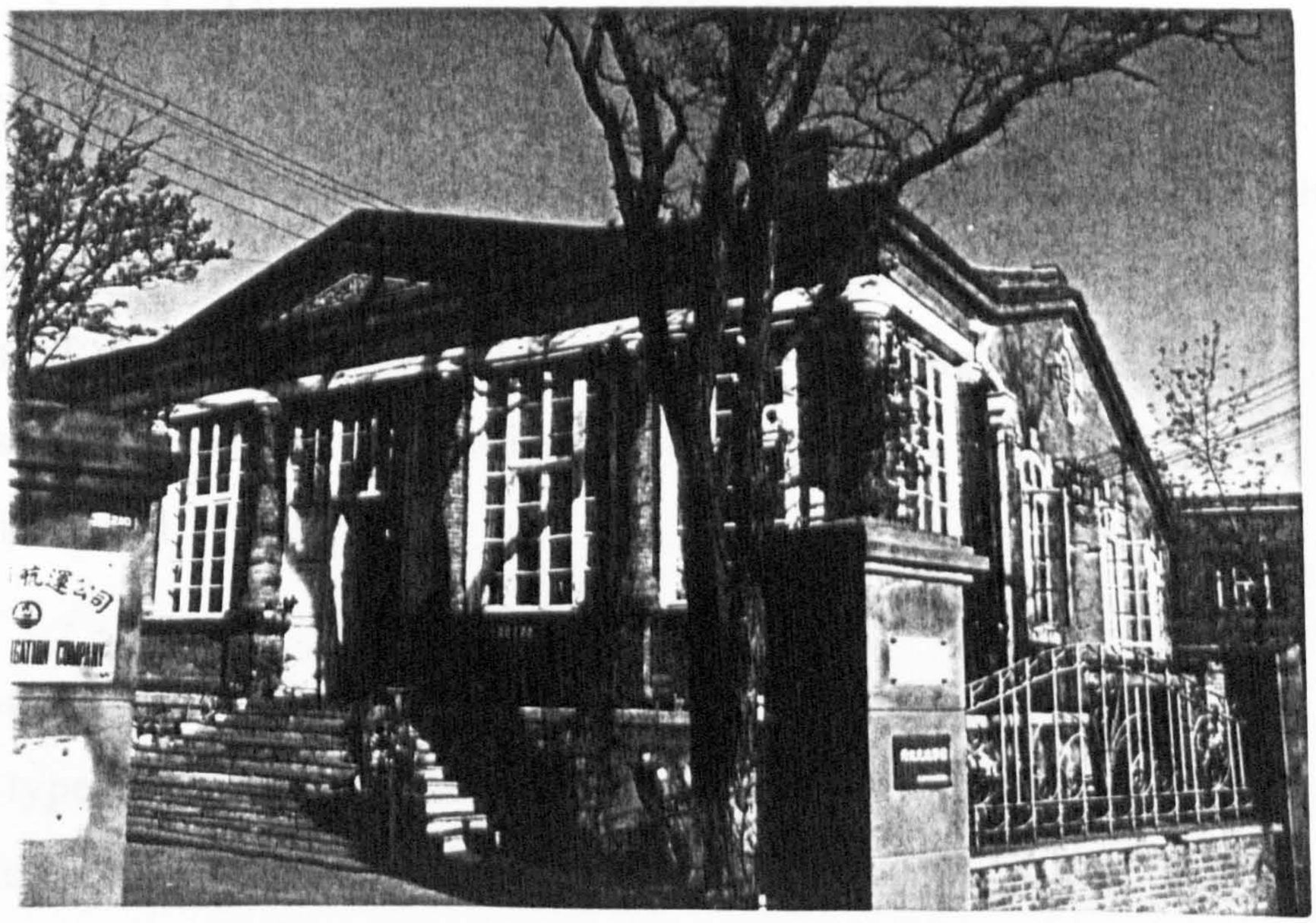
climate of Tientsin. The Tientsin branch of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation was built of brick in 1880. It was a rather large scale building for Tientsin at the time. The symmetrical frontage with a central porch was impressive, with seven arched openings on each of three storeys. Its severe Romanesque manner honestly expressed the plain building structure. The arcaded front formed a clearly horizontal continuity and made a sharp contrast between pier and opening. The architectural design rendered the model of the Shanghai trading house in the colonial Romanesque style. The differentiation between the bank and the warehouse was not made in Tientsin until the last decades of the nineteenth century.

The Astor House Hotel illustrated some features of early Anglo-Indian building in China. [3-10] Two factors influenced the appearance of the modern hotel in China. The first was the arrival of Western tradesmen, and the second was the building of the railway. The Astor House Hotel is one of the earliest British hotels in Tientsin. In 1890 in conjunction with Tientsin's development into the largest railway termini in China, the Astor House was rebuilt to become the largest hotel in Tientsin. By then Tientsin was also the base of Yuan Shih-k'ai, the Viceroy of Chihli, a powerful military leader, who was to be the first President of the Republic. Aside from catering for merchants, the hotel was also a neutral area for political deals, and a safe place for politicial refugees, or revolutionaries, among whom Dr. Sun Yat-sen was the most famous.

[3-10] Astor House Hotel, 1890, Victoria Road, (upper) rebuilt in 1981, 219 North Jie Fang Road, Tientsin.

[3-11] French Consulate in Tientsin, 1871, by Abbe Favier, now Tientsin Shipping Company, 240 Zhang Zi-zhong Road, Tientsin. (lower)





The E-shape planned building covered an area of 3,300 square metres, looking over the Victorian Park and the Haihe River. A five-storeyed Italianate tower stood at the south-west corner. It possibly derived from the tradition of a railway station hotel with a clock tower, but it gave a feeling of a military building. It is not surprising that there was a military tendency in early British architecture in the concession, because many buildings at the time were designed by military engineers.

The Astor House Hotel was characterised by long wooden verandahs on each of its three floors. Following the mode of the British station hotel, the ground floor of the hotel included many sitting rooms and drawing rooms. The interior was decorated in classical and Renaissance styles. Despite a number of cheap rooms, its social standing was ensured. The northern wing was extended in 1929 by Loup & Young, a Swiss-English Company. The whole building was renovated in 1984 after the great earthquake of 1976. The Anglo-Indian exterior has been transformed in a modernist manner, and in 1987 was capped by an architect from Hong Kong— rather strangely— with a French mansard roof. Like many of its sort, the building of the Astor House Hotel has never received a clear identity for its architectural style.

China was too large geographically and geologically to use only one type of building. The climate conditions of Shanghai and Tientsin are obviously different. Neither Indian nor English building types were well suitable. The colonnaded style of old

trading houses were gradually changed with the understanding of the local climate and the expansion of commerce. In the old verandah houses, the open verandahs were mostly transformed into rooms or solar galleries by the addition of windows, or reduced to porches, such as the French Consulate in Tientsin (1878), [3-11] and the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank building in Shanghai (1874), in which the colonnades were later replaced by additional offices. The foreigners had learned their lessons and began to pay attention to the climate conditions in building. The verandah was used less after the pioneer period. However, the verandah, as an architectural style, still had vitality, which are often seen in residences and shop fronts.

There were many stories in the early days about the weather causing problems for the foreign houses. When corrugated sheet iron first came into use in Tientsin for roofing the Collins Company warehouse, it was put on the roof simply as a cover without having the corners anchored securely. "Soon after the roof was in position, a big gale swept over Tientsin and the watchmen called on Mr. Anderson of Collins Company with the information that 'the godown roof has passed away'."[12]

Due to the lack of the necessary knowledge of architecture, the early settlers had to rely on their previous experiences in Canton or India, but the cold weather made life miserable for the British residents, who were used to mild or hot climates. "The result was sometimes a spacious interior with an abundance of furniture, suitable for summer but wearing an aspect of frigidity. ... The

British were more frequently content with a fire place, rightly described, but unscientifically let into the brick wall in such a way as to throw out almost no heat at all and, when the wind was in the wrong direction, filling the rooms with smoke. Upon entering an expansive drawing room, the fire could be discerned distinctly at the far end of a cave-like aperture in the wall; seen but not felt. In the dining room, the side nearest the fire was warm but the other side frigid."[13]

The introduction of fireplaces and chimneys into China was a significant factor in architectural design. The fireplace was not to be found in the dwelling house in China until the mid-nineteenth century with the building of foreign houses. The chimney appears to have been introduced into China at the same time. Like the Greeks and Romans before them, the Chinese made use of charcoal braziers and hypocausts for heating rooms, but the Chinese hypocaust was built beneath a clay bed, different from Roman heating system under the floor. These traditional methods were used in China up to the twentieth century, and numerous examples survive in the countryside. Modern methods of heating were also introduced into China from Britain. Steam heating was installed first in the Shanghai Customs House in 1891. The ceiling fan could be seen in the late nineteenth century for improving the ventilation, and air conditioning was used first in 1922 in the Brunner Mone building, Shanghai.

In the early days of the foreign settlement, the British-Indian tradition was the main influence on the British buildings, because

both the financial resources and the building experience derived from British India. It was possible that Indian craftsmen were sent to China with the British. They helped to produce some of the characteristics of early colonial architecture. Many Indian versions of classical styles can still be found somewhere in the city. The British merchants built themselves spacious palazzos on a square plan, with stuccoed brick and severe classical details with little or no regard for the different weather conditions. The verandah became the password of British colonial architecture. It is even said that the term "colonial style" came from the "colonnade style". In fact, besides the trading firms, some early architectural firms also came from India, such as Atkinson & Dallas. Following the Anglo-Indian colonial houses, another kind of colonial buildings was to appear with the vernacular language in the 1860s.

3.2 Colonial Chinese Styles

Defeat by the West in the wars changed Chinese views of Western civilisation. The westernisation movement of the 1860s, or self-strengthening movement, was China's response to the crisis in relations with the Western Powers. Although the movement included discussion of Western thought and even institutions, its major goal was actually the imitation of Western technology. Confucianism and Sinocentrism were still dominant in Chinese minds. During this period, there emerged an awakening of cultural consciousness that changed the images of the West

from barbarism to civilisation, but it was superficial and haphazard.

On the Western side, there was also a change of attitude and policy. From the lessons in India, Britain had decided to curb its nationals' adventurous, expansionist tendencies lest it be drawn into administering a tottering Ch'ing empire. Hence British policy was to support Chinese political stability and maintain British commercial pre-eminence by peaceful means, instead of the forceful approach that had characterised the earlier confrontation. Chinese pragmatic and utilitarian philosophy and Western moderatism met in architecture in a hybrid style, which combined Western building technology with Chinese architectural form. The building was normally built of load-bearing masonry with a Chinese concave roof. Missionary schools, hospitals, government buildings were usually designed in this way. The Imperial Maritime Customs House in Shanghai of 1857 was the first large building in the style that is known now as the colonial Chinese style.

The architect of the Customs House of 1857 made a very first experiment with the cross-current of Chinese and Western architecture. [3-12] In 1854 Horatio Nelson Lay, a son of a British Consul, had been inaugurated the principal inspector in the Shanghai customs. He helped re-establish the Shanghai Customs and removed it into the territory of the British Settlement on the excuse of protecting it from the Taipings. Horatio Lay supervised the design and building of the Customs House. There is no doubt

that the designer tried to dress up the building as a Chinese *yamen* (Imperial office). Although the layout of the complex and the form of the buildings were adopted Chinese from tradition, many details of the building suggested that the whole design proceeded from a European viewpoint. A Chinese government office should be planned along a south-north axis, and the main hall must face south, but in this complex, the major axis was east-west, and the main hall faced east. The scale of the open-air space and the proportion between the body of the building and its roof could not be Chinese.

The Customs House showed characteristics of Western architecture. The masonry structure was a distinguished identity of Western architecture from Chinese architecture. Some architectural features were clearly English inventions, such as a large central light-tower on the middle of the the main-hall roof, shutters, stonework on the ground floor and brickwork on upper floors, and the high chimneys on the gables. The multi-roofed gateway was flanked by iron rails on either side. It was an attempt to show how it might be possible for the two architectures to be used concurrently. The building was imposing and distinct from the neighbouring Renaissance houses on the Whangpoo for forty-four years until it was replaced in 1891. It was a early model of the mixture of Western structure with Chinese culture. It was well-received by the Chinese. Although it was probably a British creation, it spawned a number of copies and variants in China.

[3-12] Imperial Maritime Customs House, 1857, Shanghai, demolished in 1891. (upper)

[3-13] London Missionary Society Hospital, 1880, architect unknown, Taku Road, Tientsin, demolished. (lower)

It was very rare that Chinese builders designed for foreign premises, but the London Missionary Society (LMS) Hospital in Tientsin was probably an exception. [3-13] The hospital was founded in 1880 by Dr. John Kenneth Mackenzie with funds by Li Hung-chang. The single-storeyed building was built of wood in the Chinese traditional manner. It was usual for missionary hospitals and schools to be built in the Chinese style at the time, but it was unusual for a hospital to use the architectural form of a government building in a feudal society with a rigid hierarchy.

The LMS Hospital had a front of "five frames and five rooms" and employed decorative beams and the glazed gambrel roof with groups of acroteria-like figures on the ridges. The peristyle columns stood in front of the wooden curtain wall, but they were ranged at equal inter column distances. There were no *dou gong* (the bracket clusters) between and on the columns. Its sophisticated Chinese architectural form suggested that the design was worked out by a professional designer who might have come from the Imperial Works Department of Peking, while the bold improvement of structure obviously showed Western influence. This kind of combination reflected the attitude of the ruling class to the West, which coincided with Li Hung-chang's sophisticated philosophy and treatment of Chinese tradition and Western innovation. This style of building survived intermittently for half a century or more.

The Chinese and foreigners had been separated from each other in the treaty ports. The decisive turning point when Chinese

common people could make direct contact with the foreigners and their civilisation came between 1850 and 1864 when China's traditional order and values were shaken by the Taiping Uprising. The influences of the Taiping also changed the composition of the British Settlement in Shanghai.

Since the Taipings captured rich provinces of the lower Yangtze valley and established the capital at Nanking, 195 miles west of Shanghai, the foreign settlements in Shanghai became shelters of Chinese refugees for protection. The great influx of Chinese refugees unavoidably changed some aspects of the settlement. They formed 96 per cent of the population in the British Settlement, from which Chinese residents had previously been excluded and prohibited from having a domicile.

The British Settlement suddenly became a Sino-foreign town. Thousands of homeless Chinese people camped along the embankment of the settlements or in boats off the jetties; mat sheds, shops and new streets of cheap housing proliferated to accommodate the refugees. The price of an acre jumped from about £75 before the Taiping Uprising to as much as £12,000 in the early 1860s. Since the ground proved more precious than tea, silk and even opium, the foreign traders pulled down their compounds, bought land from the Chinese farmers and built over their recreation ground. British trading firms began establishing their business in real estate. Even the British Consulate with its prime position overlooking the Soochow Creek and the Whangpoo felt tempted to release a few acres in the city's real-estate boom.

The Settlement profited from the joint residence of the Europeans and Chinese. The decision to admit Chinese refugees to live in the Settlement was not entirely humanitarian but also made with an eye on their gold. The refugees from the Taipings included not only commoners but also landlords and merchant families of wealth and position. Although the consul instructed the Municipal Council of the Settlement to dispose the tenements built for the Chinese refugees, the Council refused the consul, because the presence of the Chinese benefited the community, which was deriving quite a considerable income from the housing of the refugees. In 1854, the revised Land Regulations removed the ban on Chinese living in the Settlement, and admitted the Sino-foreign joint residence.

The Chinese refugees also saw the advantages of living at a distance from their own government, protected by the foreigner from arbitrary taxation and the hazards of wars. The Chinese population in the British Settlement jumped from 500 in 1850 to 90,000 in 1865. Although they were not allowed to participate in the administration of the Settlement, their taxes formed the bulk of the municipal income, and their money made possible future civic improvement. Streets, shops and two-storey houses now covered the countryside behind the foreign warehouses on the embankment. The British named the streets running from north to south after Chinese provinces and those from east to west after Chinese cities.

The boom of population in the foreign settlements gave birth to one of the most distinctive kind of domestic architecture, the linong house, which would greatly influence the urban residential architecture of the treaty ports. By the middle of the 1850s there had been 20,000 Chinese refugees of the Taipings immigrating into the Settlement and the number went on increasing. Many quick fortunes were made in supplying housing accommodation. British merchants took the opportunity to build a number of rows of wooden houses for the rich refugees. Several rows formed a block of residence with a deep and narrow lane or alley between rows. This kind of residence was called "*li nong* " in Chinese, and the house was "*linong* house". By 1860, there were 8,740 houses of this kind.[14] The failure of the Taipings brought with it a time of depression. The newly-built Chinese quarter was deserted, because the refugees went back their hometowns. Despite halved rents, the houses were still left tenantless, and at the same time, the financial crisis from Bombay and London reached Shanghai. The housing market collapsed and many foreign real-estate speculators went bankrupt.

Today, Chinese architectural scholars and historians have generally accepted the popular conclusion that the linong house was a version of the terraced house of Victorian Britain or the European continent. However, although linong houses appeared first in the British Settlement, and were built side by side similar to the planning of terraced houses, they were Chinese in origin rather than English or European. They were built to "meet the need and custom of the native". The linong house still remained

in the Chinese tradition in plan, interior decoration, building materials, structure and construction, which derived from the vernacular housing in the area south of the Yangtze valley,[15] Kiangsu, Anhwei and Chekiang provinces, from where the refugees and builders came. Therefore, the linong house, as the result of the co-operation of British merchants and Chinese builders, was rather Chinese than British.

Except for planning in rows, the early linong house had little in common with the English terraced house. In fact, although the terraced house derives from eighteenth-century Britain, it did not become the urban domestic vernacular in England until the latter half of the nineteenth century.[16] In addition, the British housing investors and the Chinese builders did not have enough knowledge about building of the English terraced house, because the former were merchants who had been engaged in Indo-Chinese opium trade and knew the Indian bungalow better than the English terrace, while the latter had never seen or heard of the terraced house before. Furthermore, England was too far away for experienced architects to be sent to China in the 1850s.

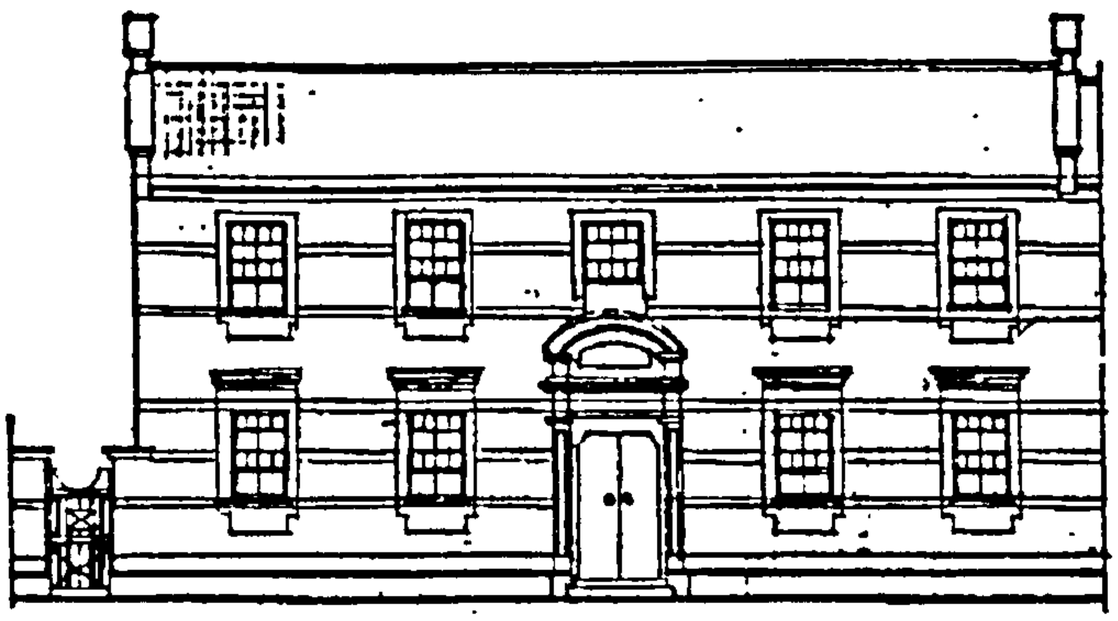
Indeed, the merchants did not need any architect for this fast, low-cost housing. The only consideration was to cover the land with as many houses as possible as quickly as possible. It was business rather than architecture. The provision of housing was seen for the first time as the responsibility of capitalist enterprise. E. D. Sassoon & Company, one of the old British opium firms in China, was then the prime speculative developer, and

built more than twenty estates of the linong house in the decade from 1880 to 1890.

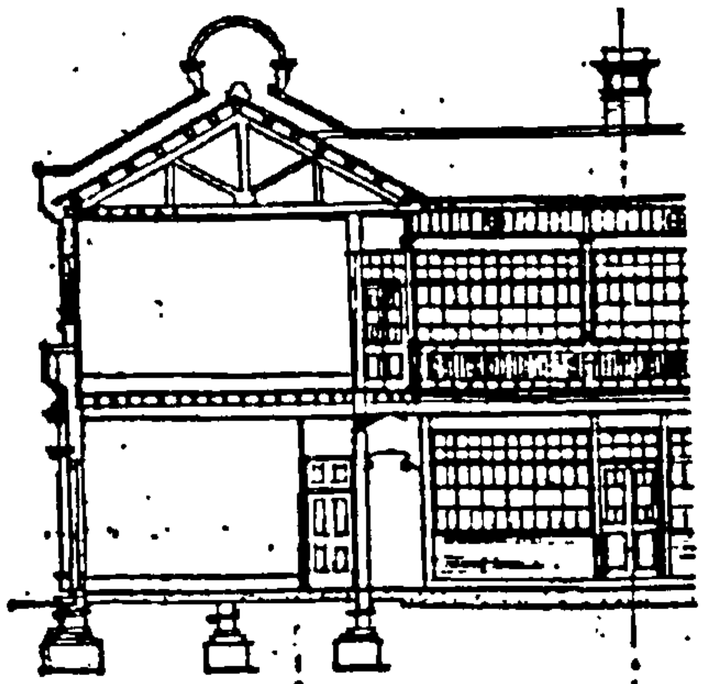
With the years of evolution and improvement of building techniques, Western architectural forms and Chinese way of life were now systematically combined. The linong house assimilated more and more Western architectural elements to form a mixture of European terraced house and Chinese courtyard house. From 1870, because of the recovery of the economy and the population, the linong house grew into the urban residence from the provisional refugee shelter, and became the wealthy house for rich Chinese.

The linong houses of Xing Ren Li [3-13] were built in the central Settlement in 1872. They retained the Chinese neighbourhood pattern but with a European terraced layout. Every unit was still a Chinese courtyard-planned residence, but the courtyards were reduced to light-wells. The building structure and roof frame were improved and adopted Western techniques and forms. The exterior of the house was masked as in a European mansion in the Renaissance style, but the interior was still in the Chinese tradition: axially planned rooms, wooden-window curtain wall, a back staircase, Chinese architectural details and ornaments. The connection of the two worlds from outside to inside was through the Chinese door in the framework of the Renaissance doorway. The house exactly mirrored the change of society and the state and psychological contradiction of upper middle-class people at the time.

[3-14] Xing Ren Li, built in 1872, He Nan Road, Shanghai, demolished.



ELEVATION



SECTION

The so-called colonial Chinese style was as much a Chinese as a Western creation. Although there had been examples of Chinese house with Western-style ornaments since the eighteenth century, the mixture of two forms of architecture did not begin until the 1860s when there was an attempt to inject Chinese architecture with Western technology. The linong house is a typical example, in which Chinese culture and Western culture were juxtaposed in architectural form but separated in function. It was a compromise of one culture with another in a state confrontation.

3.3 Gothic Buildings

Life in Shanghai appeared secure after the end of the Taiping Uprising in 1864. A long period of peace and commercial expansion gave it back the promise of full prosperity. There was steady development in the British Settlement year by year. In 1863 a new race course was completed, and the postal service began. The first Shanghai Club was founded in 1864. The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, the third British bank in Shanghai, opened in 1865, incorporating itself into the imposing foreign banking and trading buildings in the Bund. The Lyceum Theatre, the first Western-style entertainment building of this kind, was established in 1867 with the opening performance, *Whitebait at Greenwich*. The theatre had a dome over the auditorium and gas lighting, both of which surprised the Chinese people. The first public gardens were opened in 1868, and a prison as well. The American Settlement became amalgamated with the British in 1863. The city looked like any busy prosperous European seaport.

There was so much growth in this period that a British resident in Shanghai proudly said in a letter home that "our life in Shanghai is practically a city life and therefore changes are as essential for us as for the inhabitants of London, Liverpool, or Manchester"[17]. An admiration for Western technology and the development of the British Settlements was common in Shanghai at the time. John Thomson wrote in 1873: "Shanghai ... is in all

respects one of the most agreeable ports in China."[18] He found "houses there fit for any capital of Europe and superior to some of the edifices that adorn our own greatest ports."[19]

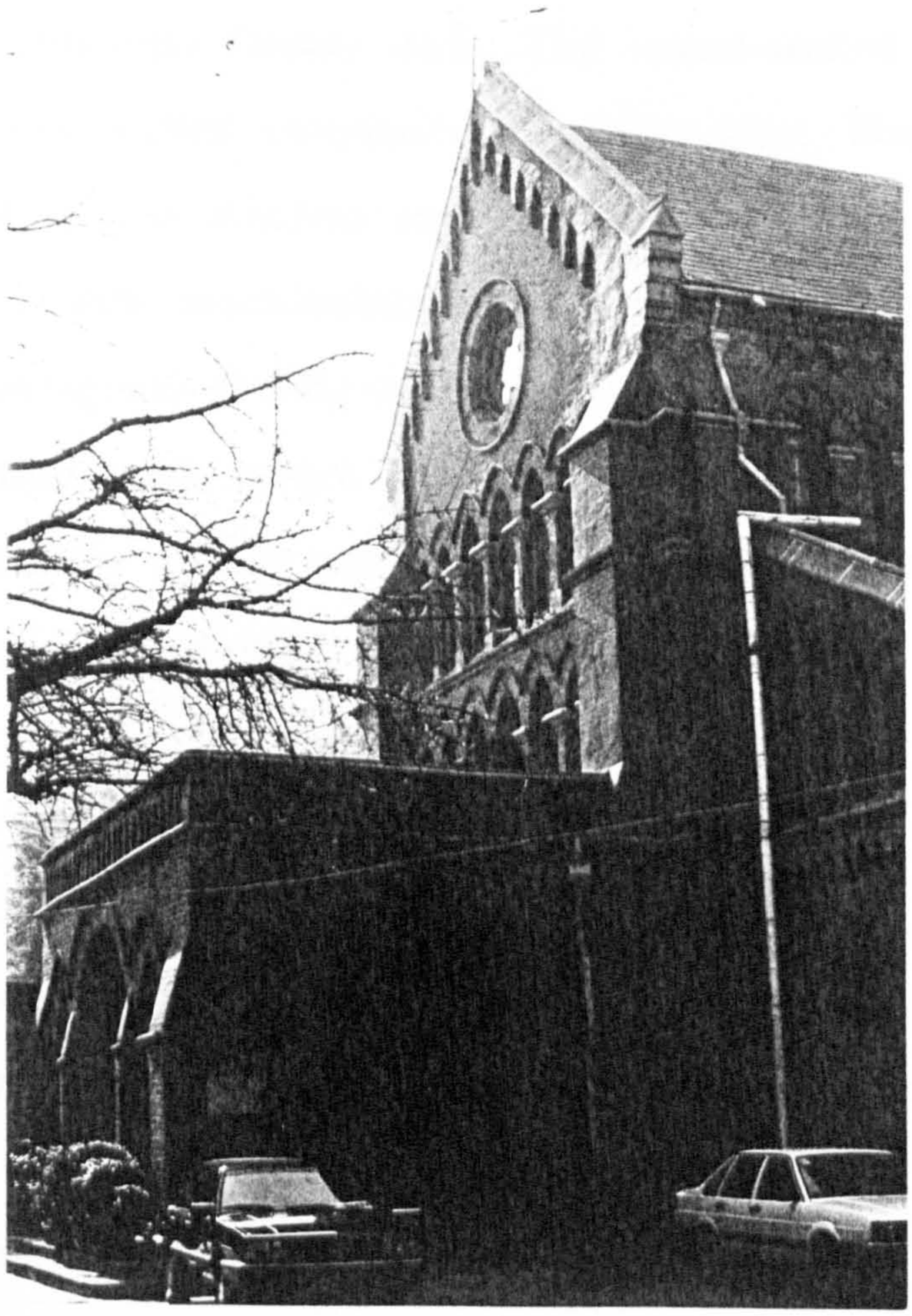
It was also a period of significant scientific and technological development. The kerosene lamp was introduced in Shanghai in the 1850s and gas lighting was installed in the streets in the mid-1860s. The first railway appeared in 1876, but only enjoyed a short life. In the 1880s streets and houses were lit by the incandescent light bulbs. The Shanghai Electric Company was founded in 1882, just one year after the first power plant was built in England. The Waterworks, which was incorporated in England, was opened in Shanghai in 1883. The telegraphic service appeared in 1872, the telephone line was opened in 1878. In 1875, the Polytechnic Institute (ko chin shu yuan) was opened, and John Fryer began editing *Ko Chin Hui Pien*, "a monthly journal of popular information relating to the science, arts and manufacture of the West", to "meet the growing desire that now exists among Chinese for Western scientific knowledge." In the course of fifty years, the Settlement had become an established urban area, with the city achieving semi-colonial status. The British Settlement's Golden Jubilee in 1893 symbolised this apparent stability with the completion of two large Gothic-style buildings.

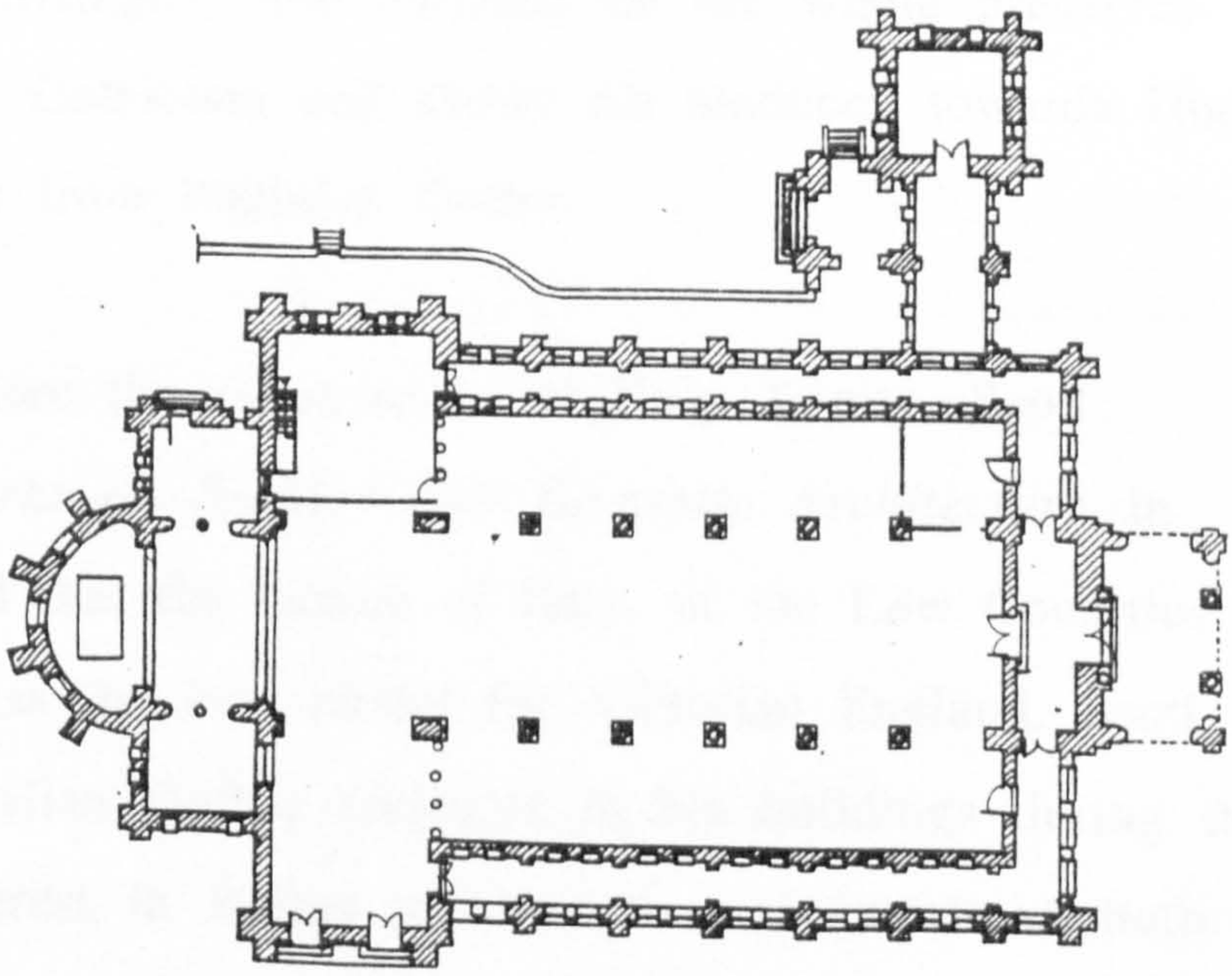
Holy Trinity Cathedral, established 1847, witnessed the development of the Settlement. It was the first Gothic landmark of the British community and one of the grandest buildings in the

city. The Church is one of the earliest Western religious buildings in Shanghai, and was the Cathedral Church of the Anglican Bishop of Mid China. The first public worship of the London Missionary Society in Shanghai was held at the British Consulate in the Chinese city in 1843. In 1847 it was decided to build a church. On Trinity Sunday, 1848, the building of the first Protestant Episcopal church in China opened and was dedicated to the Trinity. The foundation stone of the new building of the Holy Trinity Church was laid on May 24th, 1866 after the old church had been damaged by storms. [3-15] The church was commissioned from George Gilbert Scott, a famous Victorian church architect. It is George Gilbert Scott's only project in China, and the only British building in China designed by a leading British architect during the period.

The nave was completed in 1869 and was the first Gothic structure in Shanghai. It is early Gothic in structure and Italian in design. Its High Victorian Gothic style was not common in church building in Britain. The Latin-cross-planned Church is a copy of a central or northern Italian Christian basilica, which has a long and comparatively narrow nave and side aisles with an apse at the east end and a narthex at the other. The pointed vault of the nave is supported on two rows of grey stone piers. The roof has wooden trusses clad with stone tiles. The tall stained glass windows sparkles with vivid colours under the burning sunlight, dappling on the dark wooden pews. The grand pipe organ, which was made in London, was the first such musical instrument in Shanghai.

[3-15] Holy Trinity Church, 1866, by G. G. Scott, now the Huang Pu District Government Hall, 201 Jiu Jiang Road, Shanghai. (upper) Plan of the Church. (lower)





The east front is in a Lombardic Gothic style. The round-arched porch is flanked with point arched colonnade on either side. The gable was decorated with a rose window and two rows of arcaded Gothic windows, with machicolations. The free-standing bell-tower with a high octagonal Gothic spire was completed in 1893, and was a navigation mark before its spire was lost in the 1915 typhoon. Its late Gothic details are different from the nave hall, which may have been added later to the design of William Kinder.

It is difficult to determine how much is Scott's own individual design in the church, because he was engaged on a number of projects in Britain at the time. Scott was never in Shanghai in his life. The whole project was carried out by a local architect William Kinder. Although William Kinder is believed to have modified some of Scott's original proposals to adapt the design to the weather of Shanghai, the building on the whole preserves Scott's idiom of Gothicism and shows his tendency towards High Victorian Gothic from Puginian Gothic.

Seven years before the construction of Holy Trinity, Scott published *Remarks on Secular and Domestic Architecture*, in which he argued that the Gothic of Italy, of the Low Countries and Germany was the best model for Victorian England. Scott applied more Italian Gothic elements in his buildings during the period. His interest in Italian architecture was imprinted both in his religious and secular buildings. Holy Trinity Church reflects this change in his architectural taste. Some architectural

treatments of Holy Trinity Church bear comparison with Scott's other work. In his Midland Grand Hotel in London (1868—74), for example, the main porch is similar to that of Holy Trinity Church. Unlike his winning design for Nikolaikirche in Hamburg (1844—63), however, Holy Trinity Church reveals Scott's "true" rather than "picturesque" manner. It continues the plainness that Scott had favoured in the cathedrals at St John's, Newfoundland (1846) and at St Anne's, Alderney (1847). Without elaborate pinnacles and picturesque skyline, Holy Trinity Church creates an effect both sturdy and plain. The buttresses express solidity and stress the basic symmetry, although they are less important in the wooden-roofed structure. It is modest, and without the Gothic slenderness and verticality of Scott's other works. Only the tower retains some of Scott's favour for decorated Gothic style.

The Church is nicknamed the Red Church because of being built of red brick; that and polychrome dressings heighten its Italian air. Economy was also possibly a reason for its rather bare red brick exterior, even though the Church was supposed to be the largest and the best Anglican cathedral in China. The building is walled and used as an assembly hall of the local district government. Its front square forms an attractive urban garden in the busy central city.

A dozen mission associations maintained establishments in Shanghai, making it the largest centre of missionary activity in China. Traders came to China to extract profits, diplomats and soldiers came to extract privileges and concessions, and

missionaries came to be the "cultural brokers". However, the Western missionaries met with little success in bridging the cultural gap between themselves and Chinese people. In Christian architecture, except for a few large church buildings, most designs for churches and chapels in China came from one or another of the pattern books that were published throughout the century. Sometimes the designer, who was often also the priest, would recreate a familiar ornament from the Chinese tradition. He would work out a free adaptation of the pattern book or previously known design. Between the 1860s and the 1890s these pattern-book churches were almost always simple, rectangular, gabled-roof structures with a central entrance tower attached to the front gable-end of the building, such as the old Holy Trinity Church in Shanghai and the Union Church in Tientsin (1864). The Gothic remained the style for church buildings.

If it was the common British way of thinking that religious architecture and the Gothic style went together in the nineteenth century, it was the same in civic architecture. The neo-Tudor building of the new Imperial Maritime Customs House in 1891 [3-16] was a reflection of changes in both politics and architecture. In politics the Ch'ing rulers were making a further attempt to introduce Westernised reform in the educational, administrative and legal systems, because they had admitted the fact that the strength of a country lay not merely in its superior technology but also in its political system. The British, for their part, had obtained political influence on the Ch'ing Court, and seized more positions and customs rights. In architecture,

traditional forms and technology had difficulty in meeting the needs of the new economy. New types of buildings had appeared in the treaty ports. In the architectural profession, the standard of architects and builders had greatly improved.

[3-16] Imperial Maritime Customs House, 1891, architect unkown, the Bund, Shanghai, demolished in 1924.

The building for the Customs House stressed both the British political and cultural identities. It was also the beginning of the British designs disengaging from the early colonial manner. The architect got rid of unnecessary verandahs, shutters, and offered a rationalist model with introduction of the clock tower and the U-shaped plan. The three-storeyed building stood at the same site of its predecessor. In contrast with the former, it was

entirely Western, or Anglicist. It was built of red-brick with green stone dressing, and the high-pitched roofs were covered with red tiles. A five-storeyed lofty clock tower of 110 feet in height was placed in the centre of the building, which was a striking feature of the Bund, whose great clock was referred to as "Big Ch'ing". The turrets with small ogee-domes were decorated on the gable ends and the tower corners, which were traditional Oriental elements in Anglo-Indian architecture. The building recalled the style of the British town hall. The central entrance led from the courtyard into a grand staircase hall. Two Chinese stone lions flanked the staircase, which perhaps were the last Chinese architectural features and symbols left in the Customs House.

Tientsin, in the last decades of the nineteenth century, entered an era of increasing trade and steadily developed into a major commercial centre. In 1881, Claude W. Kinder completed China's first railway line between Tangshan and Tientsin, adding an important chapter to the history of Tientsin. Due to the expansion of the railway, Tientsin became a communication hub and had the biggest railway station in China, from which Tientsin's economy greatly benefited. The British Concession also reached a new state of development with the rapidly increasing population. There were notable additions to the buildings with the erection of hotels, trading houses and banks. The Victoria Park was opened to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the reign of Queen Victoria. Oil-gas and electrical illumination made their first appearance in Tientsin during this period.

With this development, British Tientsin had need of a well-functioning municipal building. Such a building was erected in Tientsin in May 1890. It was the first of its sort in the foreign settlements of China. In creating this building both the council authorities and architect were eager to create not only an impression but also the most significant construction in British Tientsin, which would act as an exemplary model for foreign buildings in China. The opening ceremony of the town hall was a grand occasion. Viceroy Li Hung-chang was invited to open the hall and named the building "the Gordon Hall" in memory of General Charles George Gordon, who had been killed at Khartoum in 1885. [3-17]

The building was modelled closely on the British town hall. With a rectangular plan and facing an open space, it stood at the head of a separate market place, representing one of its important roles, the collection of tolls. It accommodated three main functions: a multi-purpose public hall, courts and a concert hall. The original plan of the building was drawn by J. Chambers, but it was modified later by A. Smith, the first Surveyor and Secretary of the British Municipal Council, who, it was said, was a "man with the versatility of Leonardo da Vinci". H. Franzenbach, who had been a stone mason in Germany, also contributed ideas of sorts for the building. The public hall, in which a large photograph of General Charles George Gordon occupied an conspicuous place, was an important arena for meetings and entertainment of every kind, but the hall did not assert itself

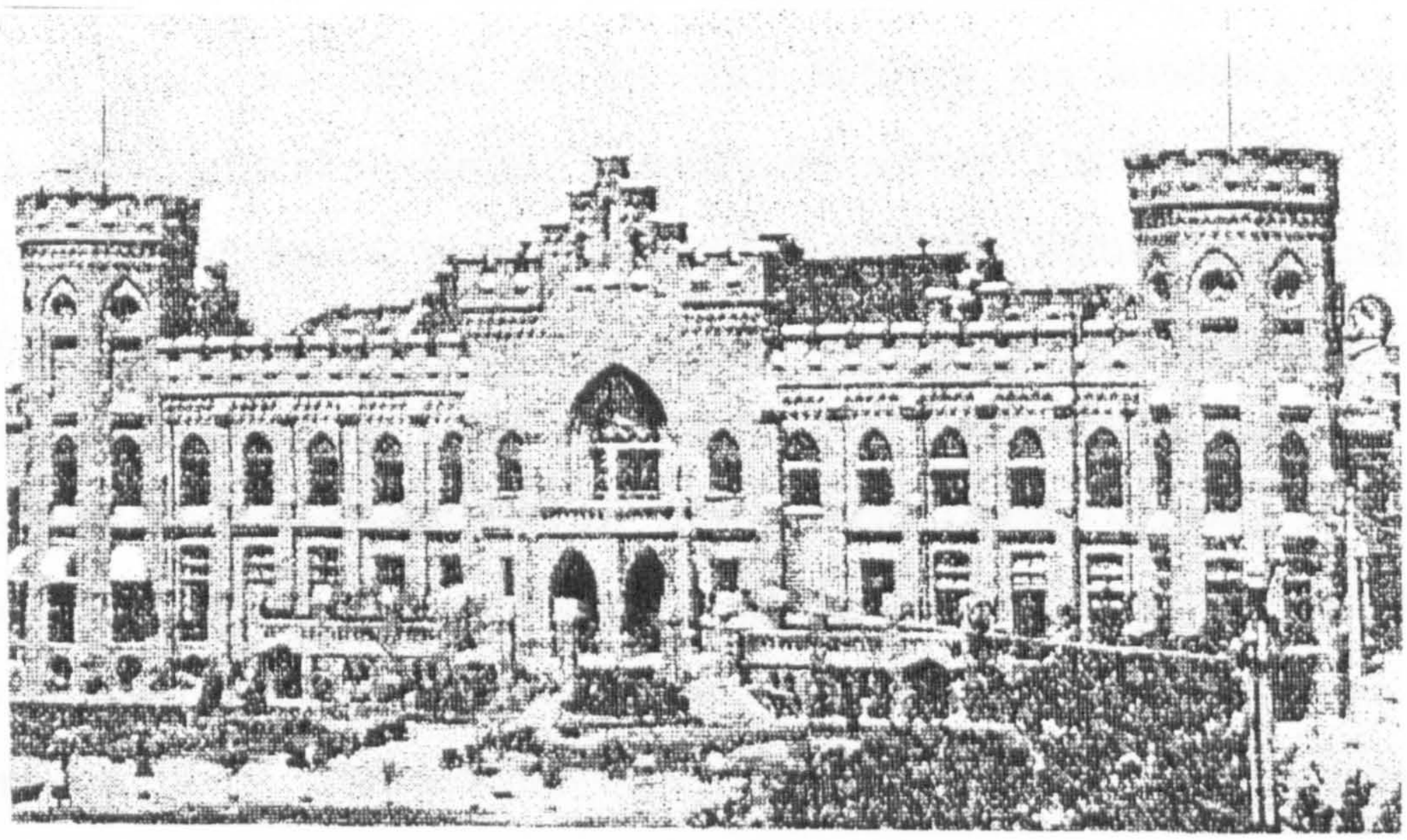
until its stage was built two years later by Bellingham, A. Smith's successor, at Li Hung-chang's expense. A whole group of different functions were served under one roof and composed a coherent range of the building. A theatre was included as the social centre of artistic Tientsin. On completion it accommodated a court, an assembly room, a reading room, banqueting rooms, municipal offices, a police station and a council chamber as the minimum requirement. A large garage for the fire brigade was attached later by W. G. Parkin at the rear of the building in an exactly matching style and the same building material.

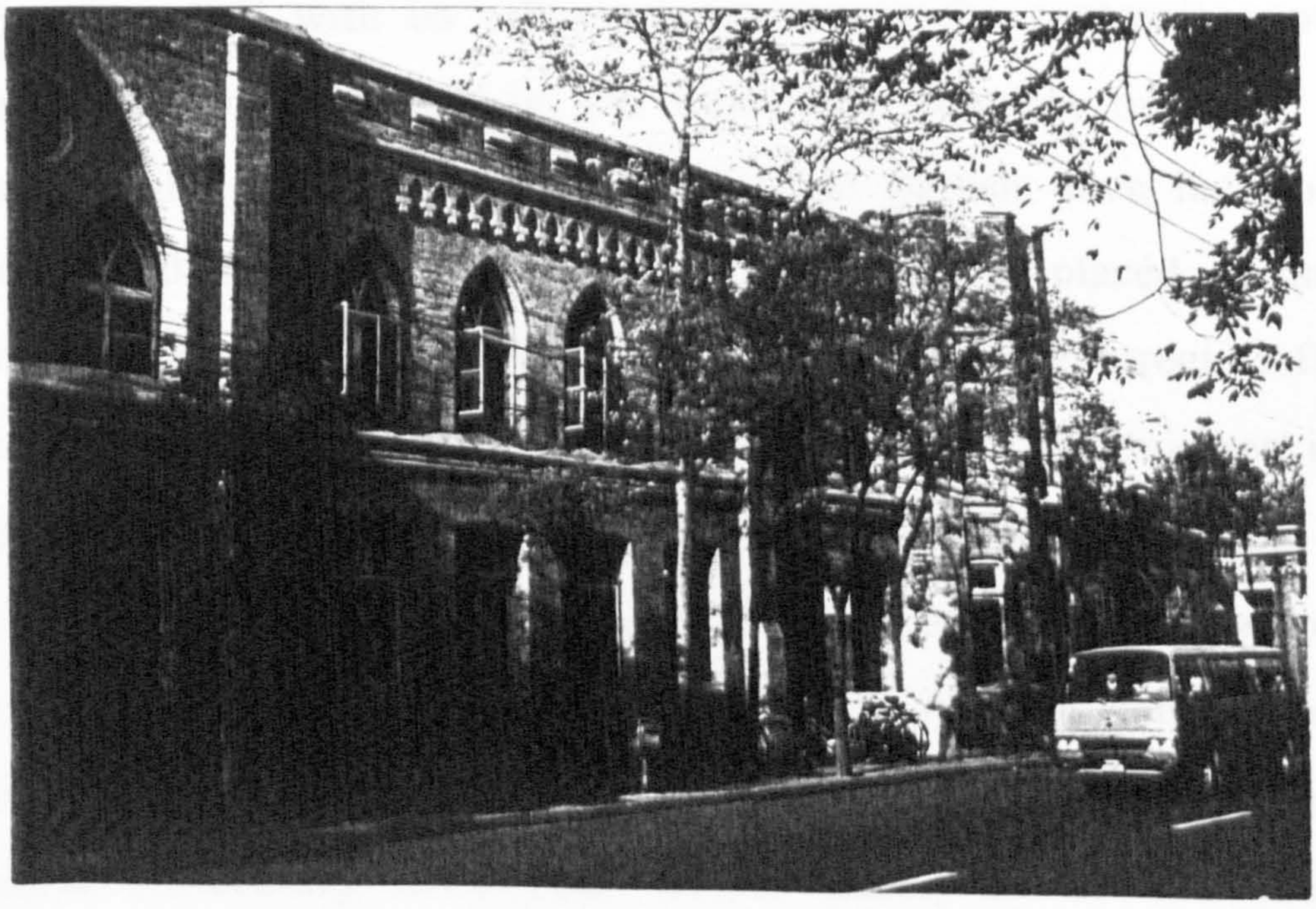
The project was the first municipal project to rival the scale of private enterprise and cost in the region of 32,000 silver taels.[20] It was condemned as "a woeful waste of public money and a striking example of the Council's ineptitude",[21] and the place for a limited circle of the capitalists and leading men of the port. In 1922 a new scheme for a larger Municipal building of 250,000 taels fell through following a rate-payers' meeting. The Gordon Hall served the British Municipal Council for nearly half a century and continued to be used afterwards as a civic building until it was seriously damaged in the massive 1976 earthquake, after which it was replaced by a eight-storeyed office building in 1984. Only its eastern part survives. [3-18]

The main facade of the Gordon Hall was divided into five sections. The central portion was flanked on either side by two-storeyed wings, and terminated by the three-storeyed octagonal turrets. The higher central section contained an arched porch and a

[3-17] Gordon Hall, 1890, by J. Chambers, Victoria Road, Tientsin, demolished in 1984. (upper)

[3-18] Gordon Hall, the surviving fragment, photographed in 1990. (lower)





balcony on the roof of the porch with a large point-arched portal, which was a symbol of the nineteenth-century town hall in Britain for announcing the result of an election. The rows of flat arched windows on the ground floor and equilateral arched windows on the first floor gave horizontal continuity. The three-offset buttresses ranged on the wall between the windows were the only vertical divisions, humble and severe. On the point-arched porch was a balcony, again used in the British town halls of the nineteenth century for public announcements. The roof line was crenellated. The long frontage of the building was focused on the central section with a large Gothic opening on the balcony and stepped battlements with loop holes, and balanced with end turrets that gave added character by blind arches on the top floors. The play of light and shadow across this imposing elevation did much to create an effect of movement.

The town hall with its tall clock-tower was the centrepiece of the British urban landscape in the nineteenth century, but, surprisingly, the Gordon Hall, as the first British town hall in China, did not have such a tower. The clock was placed on an iron bracket projected from the corner turret over the street. After the completion of the Houses of Parliament at Westminster in 1867, the Big Ben tower became one of the most potent and influential architectural images throughout the rest of Victorian times, especially for the British town hall. A town hall tower with its clock was one of the most important features, without which a nineteenth-century town hall seemed hardly to deserve the name. The tower can derive from the medieval civic building.

Despite some exceptions, a tower was generally accepted as part of an architectural vocabulary that belonged especially to the town hall during the period, whether in classical or Gothic designs.

Due to the absence of documentary evidence about the evolution of the project, it is difficult to decide whether the reason for dispensing with the tower was architectural design, or municipal finance, or constructional technology, or the earthquakes of 1882 and 1888 near Tientsin.[22] Anyway, there had been the precedent in the Tower of London for a clock that projects from a turret. If the tower is conceived as a highlight in the townscape or for attracting public attention, then the Gordon Hall with its massive and distinct architectural form and environment achieved these two purposes without erecting the clock tower. As an aesthetic composition, however, the Gordon Hall would need a tower to dominate the whole complex.

Another surprise was the treatment of the windows. The Gothic windows had wooden cross mullions, and the openings of the windows were extremely simple without any ornament, even without hood-moulds. The dividing line between wall and opening was as sharp as possible. In his *Memories of Tientsin*, William McLeish, an "old China hand" recalled, “(John) Ruskin never saw our Town Hall, thank Heaven”,[23] because he would not withstand “its artistic enormities, such as "frames in Gothic windows, crenelated battlements and crocketed finials".[24]

William McLeish's anxiety was not unreasonable. The Gordon Hall was not one of Ruskin's "Stones of Venice". Although this eclectic mix of architectural elements was in harmony with some of the ideas of High Victorian Gothic that Ruskin had helped to create, Ruskin's preference was for Italian, or Venetian Gothic models. He would not have liked the openings because of their lack of man-made characteristics, but he would have admired the windows seen in bright southern light, for they created deep shadows and strong contrasts between light and shade. He would also have accepted the battlements, wooden mullioned windows and corbel finials, because of his appreciation of medieval architectural features. If the Gordon Hall had any associations with vernacular architecture, it was the simple and severe window openings that possibly derived from Chinese military architecture in Tientsin and the ancient Great Wall outside Tientsin.

Another aspect of the Gordon Hall with which Ruskin would surely have disgreed was the dull and monotonous colour of the building. The bluish-grey brick was used as the exterior material of the whole building. It was not the sort of bright and rich colours of a red-brick "Queen Anne" town hall. Yet the greyish hue gave a seemly sense of severity and security. Although brick had been introduced as an acceptable grand material for town hall building since the 1870s, stone, as a rule, would be the first choice and it was indeed most popular in the British municipal building at the time. When a town hall was built of brick, it was generally of red bricks, and mostly had stone dressings, such as

the Leicester Town Hall (1874—76) and Waterhouse's Gothic town hall in Manchester (1880—81).

However, despite other choices, it was a valuable attempt in colonial architecture for the designers to display the characteristics of local craftsmanship and try to create a regional landmark through using distinct vernacular material. The use of vernacular material created an organic link both with the environment and with British history. It also matched the Tudor Gothic of the building, which derives from the legacy of the Gothic Revival in exploiting the expression of materials. Large areas of windows were also the characteristic and important elements that transformed the military type into the civic building. The brickwork was the English bond, in which one course of headers matched one course of stretchers. The brick measured about 9 by 4.5 inches and 2 inches thick.

The Gordon Hall is well worth a page in the history of the British building in China. Its castellated manner was taken mainly from medieval architecture, but it was not the same as the concurrently evolving civic Gothic town hall that also derived from medieval civic architecture. The earliest castellated style in the civic government appeared in the free cities of northern Italy during the medieval period, such as the Palazzo Publico in Siena built in the fourteenth century. The Gordon Hall assumed castle-like appearance to imply its original role as a bastion of defence against external attacks. This role was proved still effective in the 1900 Boxer rebellion in Tientsin.

The design of the Gordon Hall reflected the movement of British architecture towards less assertive Late Victorian Gothic. The Gothic was thought to be a peculiar style of the British nation for civic buildings, but with the retirement of the key figures of Gothicism, such as G. G. Scott, Street and Burges, the Gothic style had been a spent force by the year of the building of the Gordon Hall. The perpendicular Gothic had been out of date before it could have adapted for British Tientsin. The neo-classical form had been borrowed for the town hall building since the mid-nineteenth century, especially in the industrial cities like Birmingham, Leeds and Liverpool.[25] In 1889, one year before the building of the Gordon Hall, the Glasgow City Chambers confirmed neo-classicism as dominant style for civic building.

The designers of the Gordon Hall wanted to free themselves from Gothicism, but because of the lack of professional architectural knowledge, and the limit of local technical and material states, it was too hard to build a classical town hall. Therefore, they admitted a hybrid Gothic style with different elements gathered from many sources and the vernacular building material. The result was the international confusion of styles that reflected the cosmopolitan life in the British Concession. The Gordon Hall was the first civic Gothic building that gave British Tientsin a regional characteristic. It was also an early contribution of British architecture in China.

The Gothic Revival in China did not develop the strength of the

movement in Britain. The Gothic building belittles its productions on this side of the earth. It became a more compromising and more eclectic style. George Gilbert Scott's Holy Trinity Church did not lead to a wider Gothic revival movement in Shanghai comparable to the Indian variant, but his Italian flavour was accepted by the British communities in China, and seemed to become a traditional source for British church building in China. These three examples, Holy Trinity Church, the Gordon Hall and the Shanghai Customs House, were major buildings in British Gothic Revival in the early colonial period. Among them only Holy Trinity Church is built in the Gothic structure.

By the last decade of the nineteenth century Western expansion had built on the firm foundation in the principal treaty ports, and was to enter a new and climactic stage. By that time Shanghai had become the largest commercial centre in China and had grown substantially, while Tientsin also entered its development toward an international commercial port. Benefiting from the growth of the city, the British building approached a new development.

The activities of British architects in the treaty ports can date from 1862 when a British architect, Knewitt, designed the French Consulate in Shanghai. He possibly took charge of building works of the British Settlement during the period. He must have been one of the first Western architects in China at the time. The earliest surviving documents of the foreign works office in Shanghai are the reports in 1871 by "Her Majesty's Office of

Works Shanghai" about the building of the new British Consulate at Shanghai. [3-19] The chief architect in charge of the building was Robert H. Boyce. The early designs of the Office of Works were seen in foreign consulates and civic buildings. Between 1846 and 1851, the building permits in the British Settlement were applied for to the Committee of the Roads and Jetties, or to the Committee of Land Renters between 1851 and 1854. In 1854 a municipal council was authorised to administer all three foreign settlements, but this amalgamation broke up in 1862 due to the separation of the French. "Her Majesty's" Office of Works appeared during this time, but, strangely, this title was still used after the establishment of the International Settlement in 1863.

The British architects were not only responsible for the building projects in the British settlements, but also received commissions from the Chinese government and other foreign concessions. The Council Building of the French Concession and the French Consulate in Shanghai and the Japanese Consulate in Tientsin were all designed by British architects or engineers. Before the arrival of qualified architects and engineers, the process of building began with the efforts of foreign military engineers, architectural amateurs and local builders. An English missionary, in his diary of April 1850, complained that he had been engaged for months in building of the church. Although it was not his purpose and responsibility in China, he had to draft drawings of the building from memory and supervised the construction himself, because the local masons had no experience in Western architecture and building.[26]

RECEIVED
8 MAY
1872
OFFICE OF WORKS

2032
72

Her Majesty's Office of Works
Shanghae, 2nd March 1872.

O.W. 48.
72.

Sir,

In compliance with the authority conveyed in your letter of the 20th October last (No 5796) I have now the honour to inform you that I have, on behalf of Her Majesty's Office of Works, contracted for the rebuilding of the Supreme Court and Consular Offices in accordance with the arrangements carried out by Major Brownlow in the former building.

Annexed I submit a copy of the Terms of Contract, Specification and Contract in English and Chinese duly executed.

It

George Russell Esqre.
Secretary

2.

Tracings of the following drawings also accompany this letter.

Regd No 390. Plan of Upper and Lower floors - scale 10 ft to one inch
" 392. Elevations . . . . . do . . . .
" 393. Portions of Elevations - working drawings
" 394. Longitudinal Section BB through buildings
" 395. —do— CC through house shewing stairs
" 396. Cross Section D D through stairs
" 397. —do— E E through Building
" 398. Section of Roofs - plan No.
" 399. Plan of Stair-case to upper & lower
" 400. Plan and Elevation of Gate Lodge, Sailors' waiting rooms, Coolies' quarters &c. . . . . Scale 10 feet and 1 inch

all these drawings are to be signed by the Architect and Engineer

I have the honour to be
Sir,
Your most obedient
humble Servant
Wm Boyce
Asst Surveyor

The construction of Western houses depended mostly on the Chinese builders. John Thomson wrote, after his visit to Shanghai in 1872: "One might think that structures such as these must have been reared by skilled workmen from Europe, but a very short residence in Shanghai suffices to undeceive us. Then we mark the avidity with which native builders, carpenters and mechanics of every sort compete with each other to win the remunerative employment which those buildings afford, and the facility with which they pick up the extended knowledge needful to enable them to carry out their contracts and to impart to their work that elegance and perfection which the cultivated taste of the foreign architect demand."[27]

Building labourers counted among the poorest of the working population, and of course had no access to education. Their building techniques and knowledge were learned only from practice. Most building firms were small and loosely organised. In the very early days, because Chinese builders were not familiar with Western architecture and construction, the quality of construction sometimes was impaired, but they very quickly acquired the knowledge of foreign house-building. Yang Si-sheng's constructional firm was the best known during the period. He undertook the construction of prestigious works of architecture, such as the 1893 Imperial Maritime Customs House. There were a couple of British or French building firms, who contracted building the Holy Trinity Church and the French Consulate, but whose building workers were all Chinese.

During this period, traditional methods of construction played an important part. Handwork and manpower with simple equipment and tools were the essence of the building industry, since more advanced methods of construction had not received the necessary attention. Traditional crafts of brickwork, archwork and wooden frame were still the primary technology of construction. The Romanesque-style structures of the early foreign houses were well suited to the state of Chinese crafts.

Western building technology and more effective ways of using traditional materials were introduced, because wooden houses had been banned after 1870 because of the risk of fire. Masonry structures replaced traditional wooden structures, and new architectural functions and elements were added, such as chimneys and fireplaces. The building of Western-style houses quickly encouraged the development of new constructional techniques: notably the wider use of load-bearing walls, timber trusses, and beam and joist floors. By the end of the nineteenth century constructional technology had made great progress. The height of brickwork could be built up to five storeys, as in the clock tower of the 1893 Customs House.

Vernacular and traditional materials were still available to early colonial architecture. They were widely used because of their low cost and ease of use. The supply of building materials from abroad brought high transport costs. Although the railway made long distance transportation possible, building materials still depended on water transport. The pottery tile was a common

roofing material, and brick remained usual for external load-bearing walls. New building materials were brought into the treaty ports with the arrival of the foreigners. The development of European types of buildings brought with it the need of foreign building materials, and beginning in the 1860s some building materials were imported directly from England, including glass, metal hardware, interior decorations, furniture and so on. The use of iron and steel typified the great age of industry.

New building materials were also introduced. An early use of cast iron in building was recorded in the 1861 Annals of Shanghai, which noted in surprise that the Augustine Heard & Company house employed "iron as column, stone as brick, tin as roofing tile".[28] The first cast-iron frame was used in the Shanghai Gas Company in 1863. Steel had been used in the Shanghai Power Plant in 1882. Cement was another important imported material of these years, which was first used in the Shanghai Waterworks in 1883. China began to produce Tangshan cement in 1886, and machine-produced brick in 1879 in Shanghai, but cement, steel and timber were generally imported.

4

Stylisation of English Architecture, 1893—1911

Industrial Influences

Stylistic Variety

Picturesque Houses

Increasing urbanisation gave rise to the need for greater capacity in buildings. It was a time of economic well-being in the treaty ports. Commerce and industry expanded rapidly before the 1911 Republican Revolution and the 1914 World War. Shanghai and Tientsin took definitive shapes with foreign settlements during this period. To cater for this rapid development, architects had to search for inspiration from home architecture. Borrowing directly from late Victorian and Edwardian Britain, British architecture in China began changing its manner of Anglo-Indian colonial architecture. The British building was marked by a steady increase in the pace of new architectural types and form with a broad range of stylistic possibilities. For this programme of buildings for British use, the English Renaissance and Queen Anne styles, vying with the Gothic Revival, prevailed at the opening of the period. There were attempts to link certain styles with certain types of buildings, such as Gothic for religious architecture, Renaissance for commercial architecture, "Queen Anne" for domestic architecture, but there were no strict rules for architectural expression. It was the eve of transformation both in society and in architecture.

4.1 Industrial Influences

The Chinese defeat in the Sino-Japanese War (1893—94) had two main consequences. First, the Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 and its Supplementary Treaty of 1896 between China and Japan transformed the treaty ports from trading ports into industrial cities. Second, the reform movement (1890—1898) led to the abandonment of the traditional Sinocentric world-view and promoted the large-scale assimilation of the "new learning" of the West. The changes of the social conditions had a direct bearing on architecture and gave rise to the need for new building types. The new building types responded to the functions of the industrial city that were entirely unknown before.

Profiting from Japan, Britain and the other Western Powers were now able to put up their own factories and workshops. Although Japan was the first given the right to pursue industry and manufacture in the treaty ports, the first foreign factory was a British cotton mill opened in Shanghai in 1897. Apart from Japanese mills, there were only a handful of other foreign-owned plants in Shanghai, because manufacturing was a good deal less important to the economic life of foreign communities than trade. The growth of trade was relatively slow until the late 1890s, but the most rapid increase came in the first decade of the twentieth century.

By 1890 the British opium trade was surpassed for the first time by cotton piece goods. In 1906 China entered into a ten-year agreement with Britain that the British would stop the importation of Indian opium and China would cease producing its own. By 1917, opium imports and domestic production were officially prohibited. Textiles, machinery and metal took their place to become the bulk of British export to China. There was also a growth of Chinese national industrial and commercial enterprises rivalling the foreign establishment. This feature arose as a consequence of the increased security prior to the eve of the Republican Revolution in 1911.

The Chinese reform movement in the 1890s was a response to the further expansion of Western imperialism in China, which coincided with the socio-economic transformation that took place in the treaty ports. Contact with Western civilisation had greatly expanded the cultural horizon for the Chinese, and Shanghai and Tientsin played leading roles. Since 1865 when the Shanghai Kiangnan Arsenal and 1867 when Tientsin Arsenal were established, a series of experiments with Westernised industrial enterprises had been carried out in the cities, which brought with it with the appearance of the modern finance and Western-system education.

The condition of the Shanghai International Settlement had been much improved since that time by the development of trade and industry. Miles of factories and warehouses were constructed and rows of dwelling houses were built in the foreign settlements. In

the early days entrepreneurs were bedevilled with manufacture, labour training and finance. Architectural consideration only occupied a very low priority. Many of the early factories and warehouses were poorly designed.

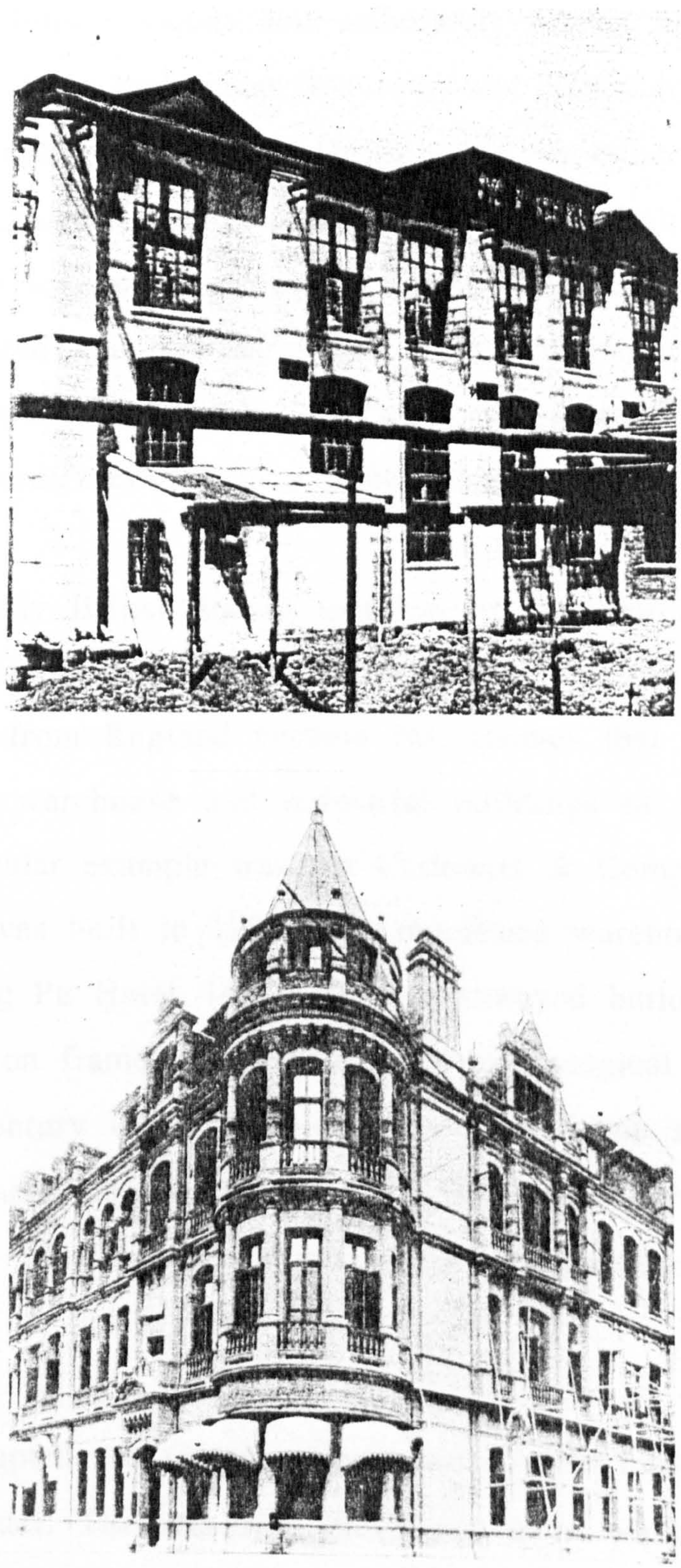
The simple and massive utilitarian factories and mills were the first of new types of industrial buildings introduced into China from Western industrial countries. The modern machines of mass-production needed factory buildings to house the machines first rather than human beings. They often had simple structures and a rectangular plan for obvious economic reasons. The Ewo Mill was established by Jardine, Matheson & Company in 1895, [4-1] which was the first foreign-owned factory in China, and the largest mill with 50,000 spindles at the time. It was built of brick with a corrugated iron roof in the traditional masonry structure and simple commercial Italian manner.

The warehouse was one of the most comprehensive commercial developments influenced by industrial establishment in the treaty ports. The Italianate tradition had a powerful hold over the British design for the warehouse and factory, and it became more ornate and richly expressed under the influence of the Queen Anne style. The new, composite style had an important impact on the street elevation of the city.

The Gibb, Livingstone & Company building survives as a model of the British warehouse in Shanghai at the turn of the twentieth century. [4-2] It was a distinctive design in the Victorian eclectic

[4-1] Ewo Mill, 1895, architect unknown, now Yuhua Woollen Mill, Shanghai. (upper)

[4-2] Gibb, Livingston & Company, 1908, architect unknown, now, 100 Tian Chi Road, Shanghai. (lower)



manner. The three-storeyed elevations are faced in red brickwork with ranges of large, flat- and round-arched windows between Ionic columns and pillars. The architectural emphasis is expressed on the corner as a round four-storeyed tower with French windows, Ionic columns and elaborately carved brick. The tower was capped by a high steep iron roof, and joined by an ornate chimney-stack, flanked by a Dutch gable on either side. The architect employed architectural elements from Italian, French and Dutch sources to achieve a British free manner. If cleaned and restored, the building would form a memorial to a once-important architectural style, and also contribute a striking element of the street elevation in a rather dismal part of the city.

Instead of the early British Indian tradition of masonry and verandahed warehouse, the increasing application of iron and the direct influences from England became two themes that characterised the warehouse and industrial buildings of this period. A spectacular example was the Carlowitz & Company building, which was built in 1899 as a munitions warehouse, and is now the Huang Pu Hotel. [4-3] The four-storeyed building employs a cast-iron frame, marking a great technological leap in late nineteenth-century China. Although the iron frame is hidden behind brick facades, the building clearly shows the lightness and grace of the structure by continuous flat arcades of large iron windows.

The architect adapted the German Renaissance style into the Queen Anne model. The red-brick elevations have white-stone

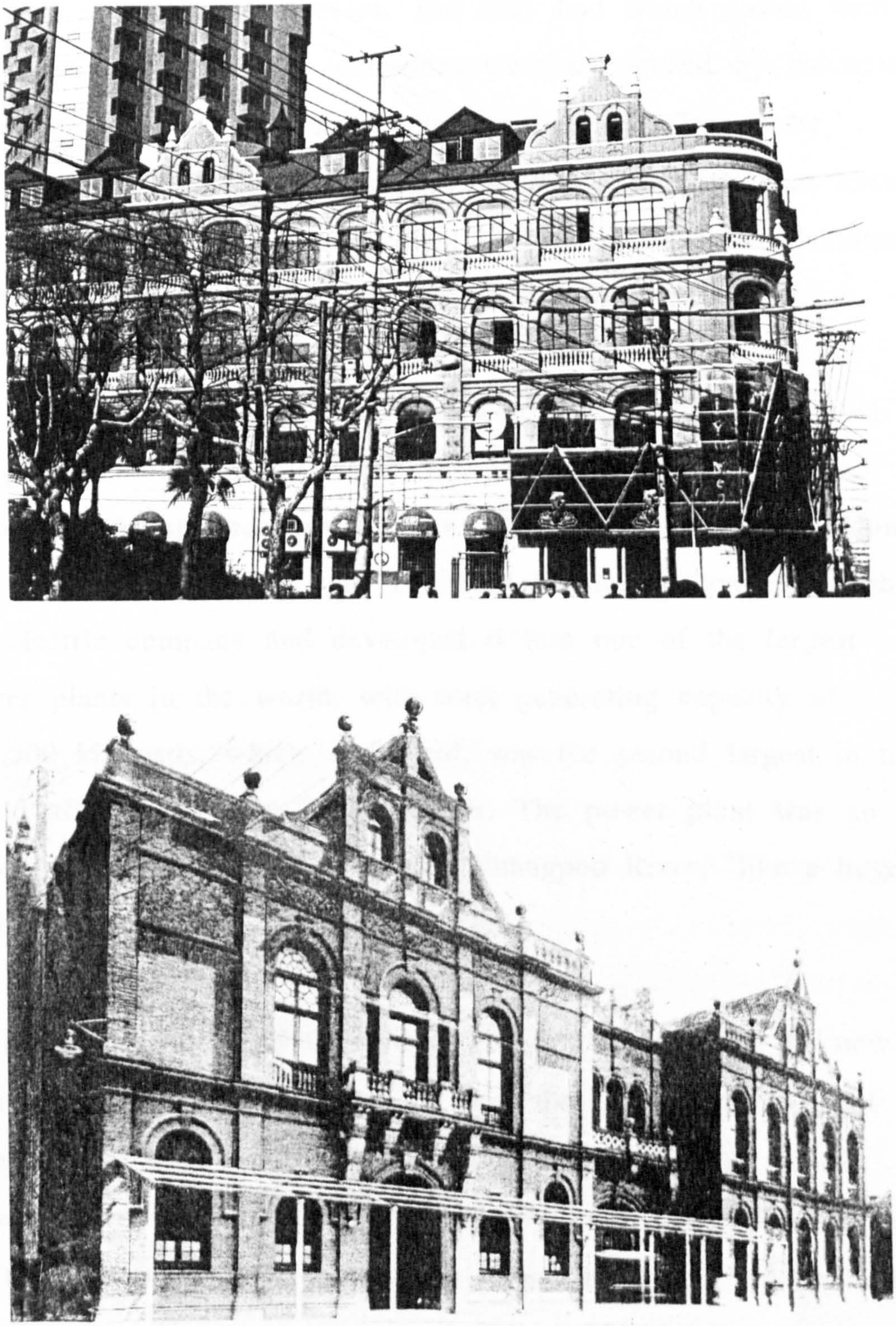
dressing in mouldings, capitals and finials. The horizontal emphasis is provided by bold balusters. The fine Dutch gables are the keynote features for the Queen Anne style. The plastered base and the glass curtain wall are the later alteration. It was ironic that a munitions warehouse should be built in a gentle Queen Anne style, and placed directly beside Holy Trinity Church, an affirmation of the new image of Western imperialism in late nineteenth-century China.

Conditions in Tientsin and Shanghai uniquely favoured economic development in the late nineteenth century. In the foreign concessions and settlements, the growing commercial wealth and power, in combination with the absence of strong centralised government, promoted the rise of self-government dominated by the local merchant community. It had a direct bearing on the building of the town hall, which was the distinctive and fully articulated building type in the treaty ports since it first emerged in Tientsin in 1890. The influences of industrial and commercial architecture on the civic building was evident in the town hall of the Shanghai International Settlement. [4-4]

In the search for suitable architectural form to house the growing merchant classes in the age of free trade, the Shanghai town hall of 1896 looked to Renaissance models. The architect was Johnson, and the building consisted of two blocks of two storeys and attic, with a connecting building set back in between. It was rather warehouse-like, but not in the style of the free Renaissance town hall that rose in late nineteenth-century British cities, such as

[4-3] Carlowtz & Company, 1899, architect unknown, now Huang Pu Hotel, 255 Central Jiang Xi Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[4-4] Town Hall of the Shanghai International Settlement, 1896, by Johnson, Shanghai, demolished in 1929. (lower)



Edward W. Mountford's Sheffield town hall of 1890—97. The architect combined the form with industrial architecture in both concrete structure and Italianate vocabulary. The building was quite well composed with arched gateways and round-headed windows in pilastered recesses. The attic had Dutch gables with arched windows too. The entrances were announced by balconies set on corbels. A Palladian window was notably flanked by pilastered bays with round arched windows. There was no tower for the provision of a public clock, perhaps because the Customs House had already offered this service.

The development of the electric power plant closely paralleled the growth of the city. The old Shanghai Electric Company was founded and supplied electricity in 1882 one year after London had used electric lighting. In 1893 the Municipal Council bought the electric company and developed it into one of the largest power plants in the world, with total generating capacity of 198,500 kilowatts, which, it is said, was the second largest in the world after Manchester in the 1920s. The power plant was an imposing sight on the bank of the Whangpoo River, "like a huge steamer approaching to the city".

In 1910, the Municipal Council of the Settlement built the new Shanghai electric power plant to meet the increasing needs of industry. [4-5] In addition the architectural treatment of the exterior gave this building a thoroughly industrial flavour. It was of unprecedented size, the largest industrial complex ever built in Shanghai. The most imposing buildings are the boiler hall and

the turbine hall, which are both steel and concrete structures. The former had ten storeys and was fifty metres high with a rectangular plan of 21.9 by 32.3 metres. Its tallest chimney was 110 metres high. The latter was built with a twenty-metre span, containing sixteen turbines. Its steel columns are 16.7 metres high. The factories were different from the historical design for power station in Britain at the time. The architect introduced a new expression to British architecture in China with this first British building in glass and steel. This design was conceived on a colossal scale from outside the British Empire, possibly using experience gained in the United States rather than Peter Behrens's turbine factory for AEG, Berlin of 1908—09.

The industrial buildings, along with the bank and the railway, were the latest arrivals at the architectural gathering of modern Shanghai and Tientsin. With the growth of industry, changes in the nature and attitude of the city took place. Factories and mills were brought more and more into the public eye by virtue of their number and advances in the very size of plants, but these manufacturing conglomerations did not displace the important role of trade and commerce in the prosperity of economy. The warehouses and factories were placed within their architectural setting in tune with the British industrial architectural forms. The warehouse might be dull if the architects in Shanghai had not treated them as architecture, decorating them in fashionable styles. They formed a new type of building and broke with the colonial tradition of trading houses, when they developed out of the industrial enterprises of the 1890s.

Between 1895 and 1911 forty-one foreign factories opened in Shanghai, and another fifty in the other treaty ports. By 1934 there were over six thousand factories and workshops in Shanghai, of which 3,421 were in the International Settlement. The capitalisation of Shanghai factories amounted to 40 per cent of the total of all modern industries in China, and the value of output was 50 per cent of that of the whole country. As the scale of industrial enterprise expanded, efficient production came to rely not just on the introduction of advanced machines, but also on the value and status of the building as a source and advertisement in the stock market. The improvement of industrial architecture began in the 1920s by employment of professional design, use of good-quality materials and new structures, with provision of the necessary facilities for health and safety.

The manufacture of building materials benefited from the industrial development. Brick making was gradually mechanised. The brick industry in the large cities began to grow rapidly at the turn of the twentieth century. The output of brick increased and the price fell. Brick buildings were popular during this period. Glass products first appeared in Boshan, Shandong, in the late nineteenth century. Reinforced concrete began to give factory construction an instantly recognisable image. The use of iron and steel typified the great age of industry. The use of cast iron, wrought iron and steel became popular and was widely employed in warehouses and industrial structures. Iron and steel

facilitated the structure of buildings to provide more open and larger interior spaces. China was one of the earliest countries in the world to use cast iron in civil engineering, but the use of iron in architectural structures did not appear in China until the nineteenth century when Western iron materials and structural technology were imported and introduced into the country.

4.2 Stylistic Variety

The turn of the twentieth century was the time for the construction of spectacular and fashionable commercial buildings. This activity was financed by commercial prosperity combined with new industrial wealth. There was also a large proliferation of architectural styles. With the expansion of trade directly with England after the decline and prohibition of the opium trade, British architecture in China was associated more closely with Britain. Like any other British town, the British areas in Shanghai and Tientsin had their own civic buildings and their share of public facilities, and various architectural modes were borrowed from Victorian and Edwardian phases for these new developments. The Gothic language was devoted specially to the church building. Post offices and hospitals, as the province of the Municipal Council, were always in the Georgian style. Hotels and clubs showed variations on late Victorian eclecticism, with luxury as their aim.

In Shanghai, due to the "demonstration effect" of the foreign

settlements, and the increasing understanding of the outside world, social process among the local populace stimulated new values, new expectations and new patterns of behaviour and living. In parallel with this social change was the rapid growth of the western-style buildings. By 1905, according to an assessment schedule by the Shanghai Municipal Council,[61] there were about 2,400 buildings and houses in the International Settlement without including its industrial district at Hung Kow.

The settlement was now filled with a great number of British-style houses. They changed Shanghai's traditional townscape and the skyline with steeple gables, dormer windows and "forest-like" chimneys, which were prominent and distinct from the old Chinese city. In this period, although the colonial style building still survived, European architectural precedents were creeping steadily towards the centre of the architectural stage, with English Renaissance and Baroque buildings built as urban landmarks, such as hotels and banks.

During this period, almost all modern buildings were designed by Westerners. Among British firms of architects, G. J. Morrison, and Atkinson & Dallas were most prominent. The Ch'ing government began to employ foreign architects and engineers. In Shanghai Atkinson & Dallas often received commissions from the Chinese government, and also served as assistant engineers to the Shanghai Municipal Council of the Settlement.

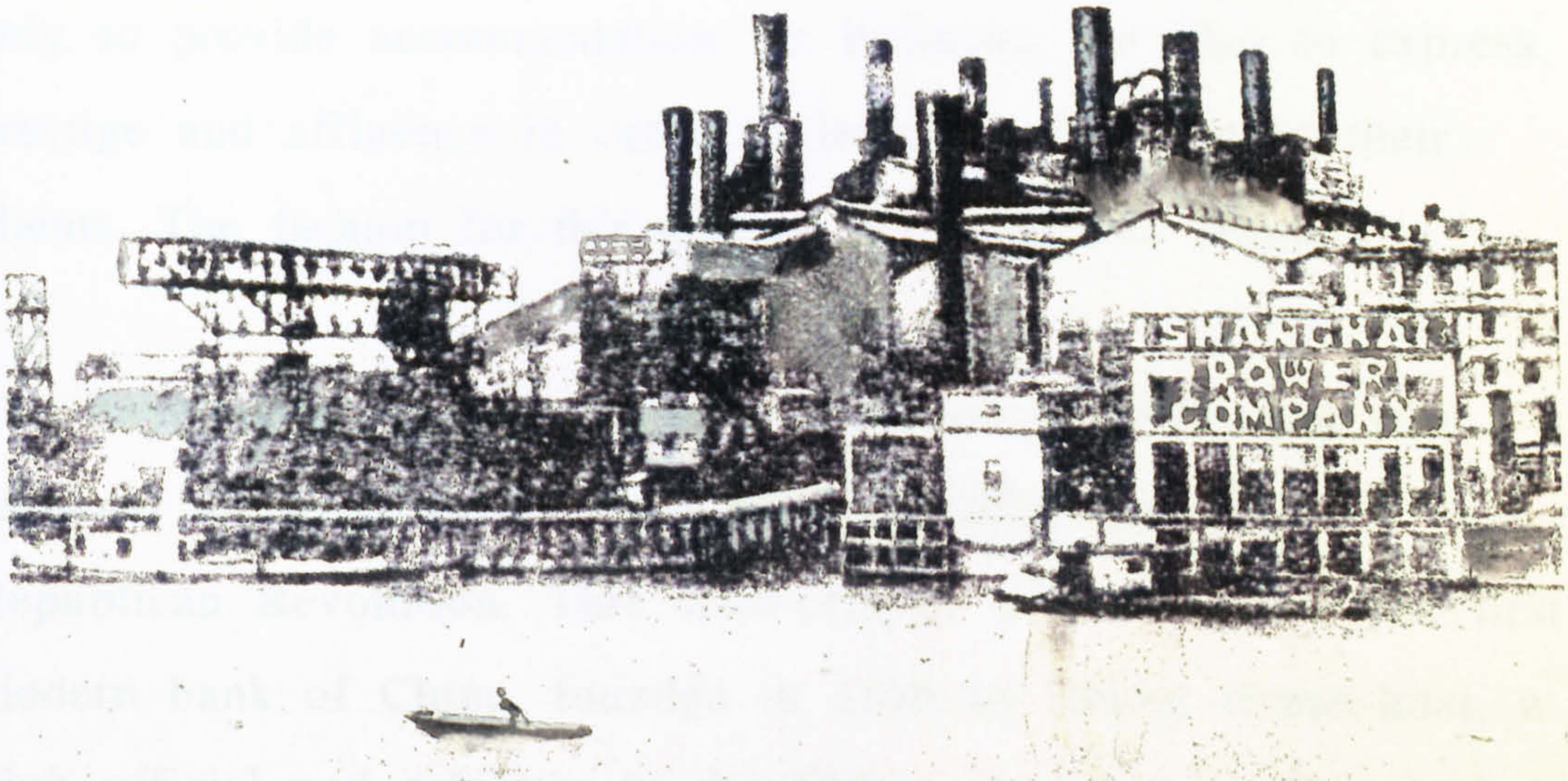
Atkinson & Dallas designed the new building for the Shanghai

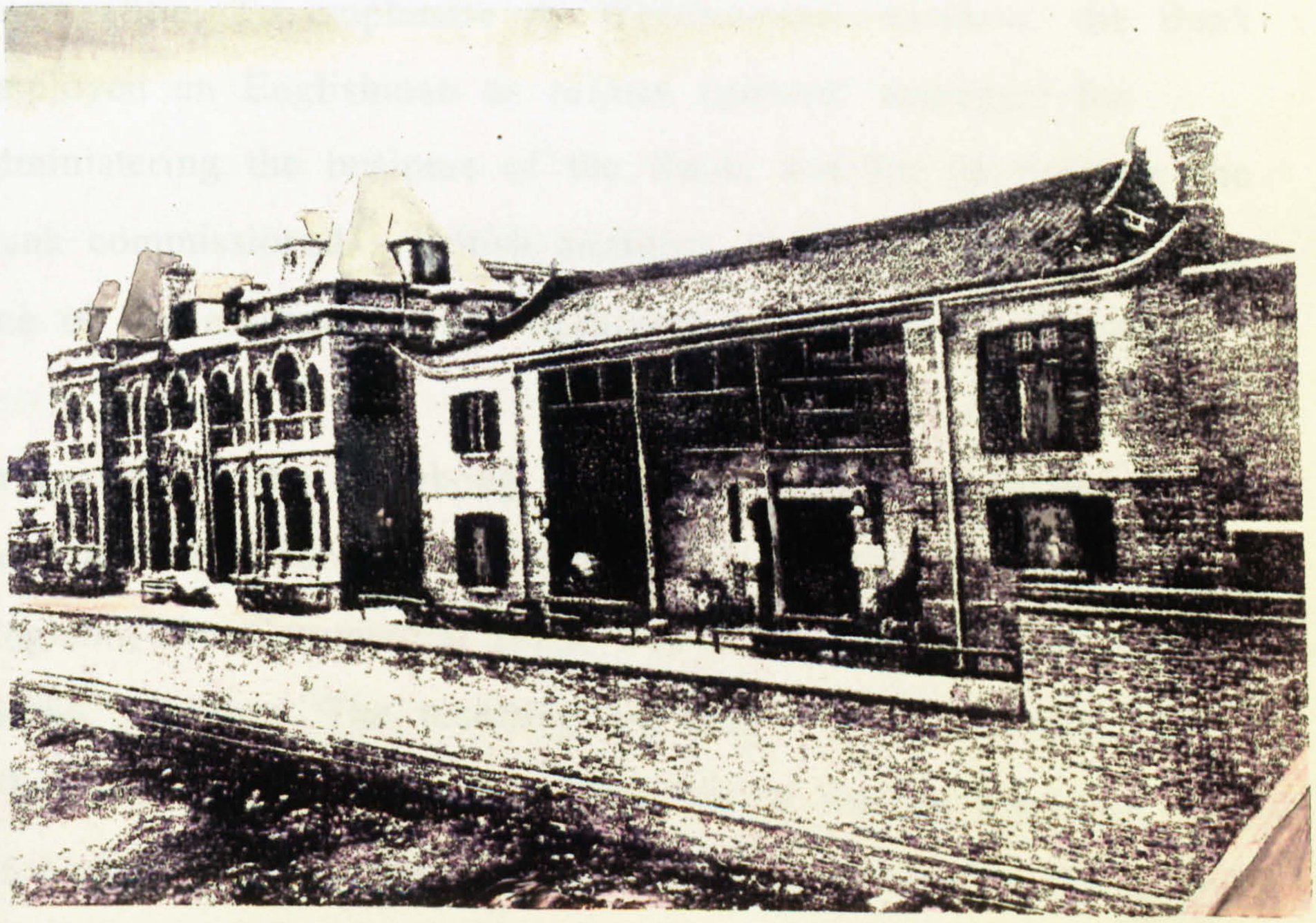
Mixed Court in 1899. [4-6] The architects made an attempt to interpret Palladianism with Chinese architectural vocabulary. It reflected the interest of British architects at the time in imposing Western style on an Asian culture. However, the architects ignored an important condition in that they did not really understand the Chinese architectural language. The use of symbols did not mean the use of language. The resulting building was a jargon of Western and Chinese architectures, as curious as the Shanghai pidgin English, but "*No b'long propper*" (trans.: "This is not correct").

The Mixed Court building was a far-fetched marriage between Chinese and Western architectures. Although most of the architectural features were taken from Chinese architecture, the building as a whole gave a feeling of alienation from Chinese tradition, because its composition and proportion derived from the principles of Western architecture. The two-storeyed building with a central portico was rather a variety of a sixteenth-century Palladian villa with Chinese roof and wooden columns. The Chinese large curved roof was hardly able to balance the Western-style design of the Court. However, the clients were quite satisfied with the new premises, when they moved into them from the old ones in the Maloo market. The Court found that "the building appeared adequate in all its requirements, and the new arrangements in connection with it tended to give a dignity to the carrying out of the law, which could not fail to impress the native population."[62]

[4-5] Shanghai Electric Power Plant, 1910, architect unknown, Shanghai.

[4-6] Mixed Court, 1899, by Atkinson & Dollas, North Zhe Jiang Road, Shanghai, demolished. (lower)





In the 1890s there began an intellectual movement that not only generated a reform in politics but also ushered a change in social culture. Imposing western-style buildings were built for the highly specialised and profitable concerns in order to expand their commercial activity. These buildings were intended not only to provide accommodation for business, but also to express prestige and affluence in order to inspire confidence in their clients. The fashion for this sort of buildings was Western.

The Imperial Bank of China [4-7] was built in 1897, and was renamed the Commercial Bank of China after the 1911 Republican Revolution. This semi-official institution was the first modern bank of China, founded in 1896 by Sheng Hsuan-huai, a high official and reformer in the Ch'ing government. The bank was established to imitate the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation. To emphasise its Western-style business, the Bank employed an Englishman as *taipan* (general manager) for administering the business of the Bank, and for its building the Bank commissioned a British architect, G. J. Morrison, who was one of the earliest Western architects to practise in China.

In contrast to the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank's Hong Kong headquarters (1886), which was based on Soane's Bank of England, the Commercial Bank was consistent with the Venetian Gothic tradition. The resulting building is three-storeyed in the Victorian eclectic style. The elevation of the building is a mixture of horizontal and vertical emphasis of Tudor-Gothic details over a

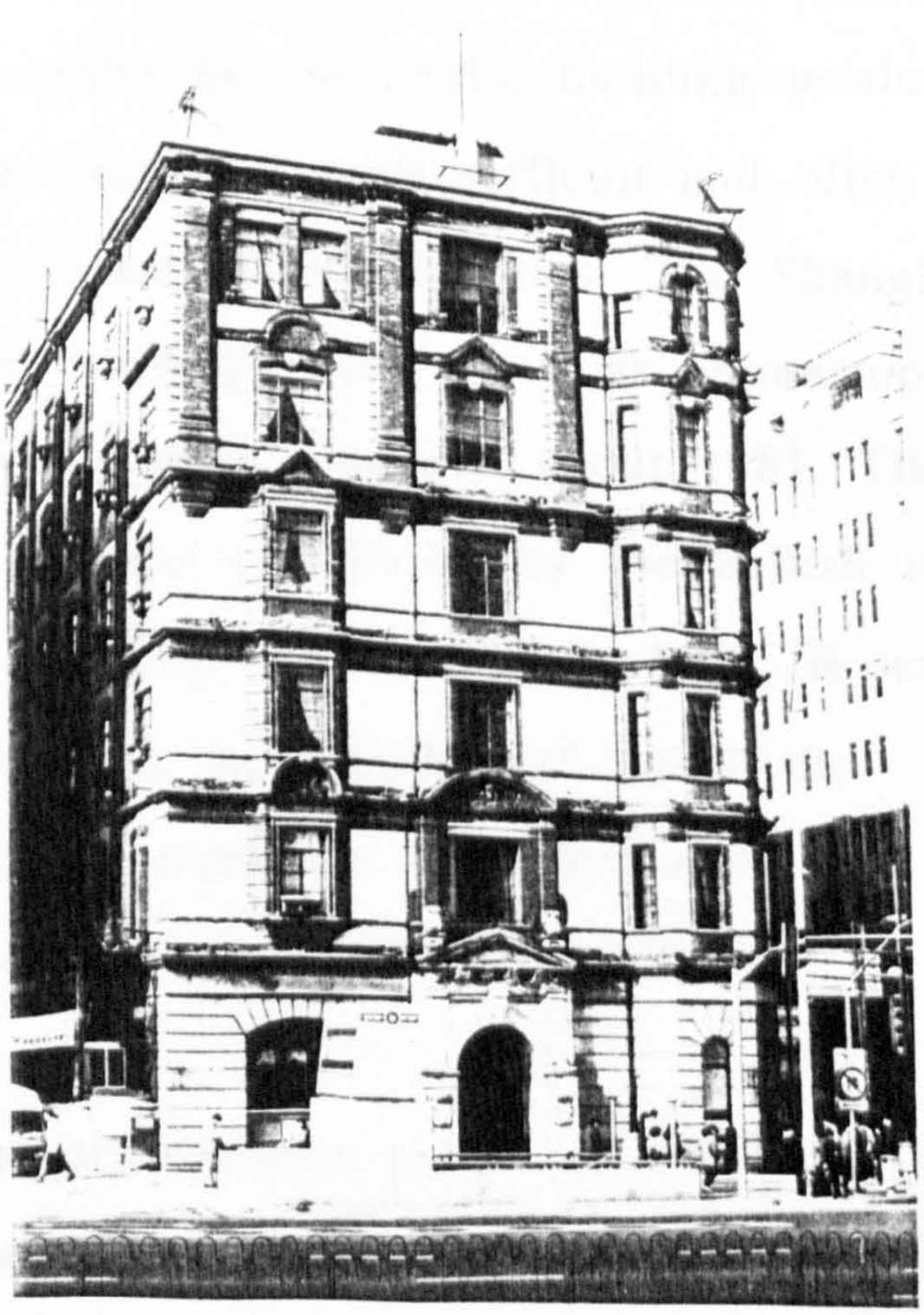
classical grid, and enriched by great variety in window forms that show that each floor is a self-contained unit: starting from the round-arched Romanesque windows on the ground floor, through the segment-headed Tudor windows on the first floor to the flat-headed Jacobean windows on the second floor, finally ending in the point-arched Gothic windows on the attic floor. The design accepts wide scope by admitting English, French, German, Italian and even Byzantine elements, such as the round trefoil arches. The Chinese motif can be seen on the window wrought ironwork in the pattern of ancient Chinese money. The high-pitched gables with finials, turrets and chimneys formed a picturesque skyline. It is now the oldest building in East Zhong-shan Road (the Bund), Shanghai.

In Shanghai and Tientsin, hotel building became a new symbol of the pleasure and luxury of the rich. The Palace in Shanghai was a very first pioneer of large hotel building in China. [4-8] It was designed by Walter Scott in 1903—06 exactly at the same time when the London architects, Mewes and Davis, built the Ritz Hotel at Piccadilly (1903—06) in French Beaux-Arts style. The Palace Hotel made the reputation of its young architect Walter Scott in Shanghai, just as the Ritz had done for Mewes and Davis in London.

The Palace Hotel was an enormous rectangular building with terminating polygonal towers. Although there are some French touches in the Palace, it is in the English Renaissance style. It was possibly the earliest six-storeyed building in the Settlement, and

[4-7] Commercial Bank of China, 1897, by G. J. Moorison, now Yangtze Steamship Corporation, 6 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[4-8] Palace Hotel, 1906 by Walter Scott, now South Building, Peace Hotel, 6 East Zhong-shang No.1 Road, Shanghai. (lower)



the first to install lifts. The vertical oriel windows link the storeys from the first to the third floors, and pilasters link the upper two storeys. The stucco parapets are a later alteration. The walls are faced with cream ceramic tiles with red ceramic trimming. The doorway at the Bund was possibly the most impressive architectural detail of the building. It is a pilastered and pedimented porch with a wrought-iron gate and fine stone egg and dart moulding, incorporated with a large segmental pediment window above. Red-brick window frames contrast with the cream-tiled wall. Originally the Palace Hotel had a roof garden and was a very picturesque roof line. The central pavilion used to be flanked either side by four gables with semicircular windows. The corner turrets were capped by bell domes.

Probably no other phase of Shanghai British architecture showed the same exuberance and variety as the public building produced at the turn of the twentieth century. It was difficult and often impossible to distinguish between historical styles. The Shanghai Mutual Telephone Company building might serve as an example. [4-9] The telephone service began in Shanghai about 1881. The Shanghai Telephone Company was established by the British in 1900, but this magnificent building was erected in 1908. It was an early concrete frame structure in Shanghai, in which the architect applied new building materials and structural innovation to create a spacious, multi-storeyed building.

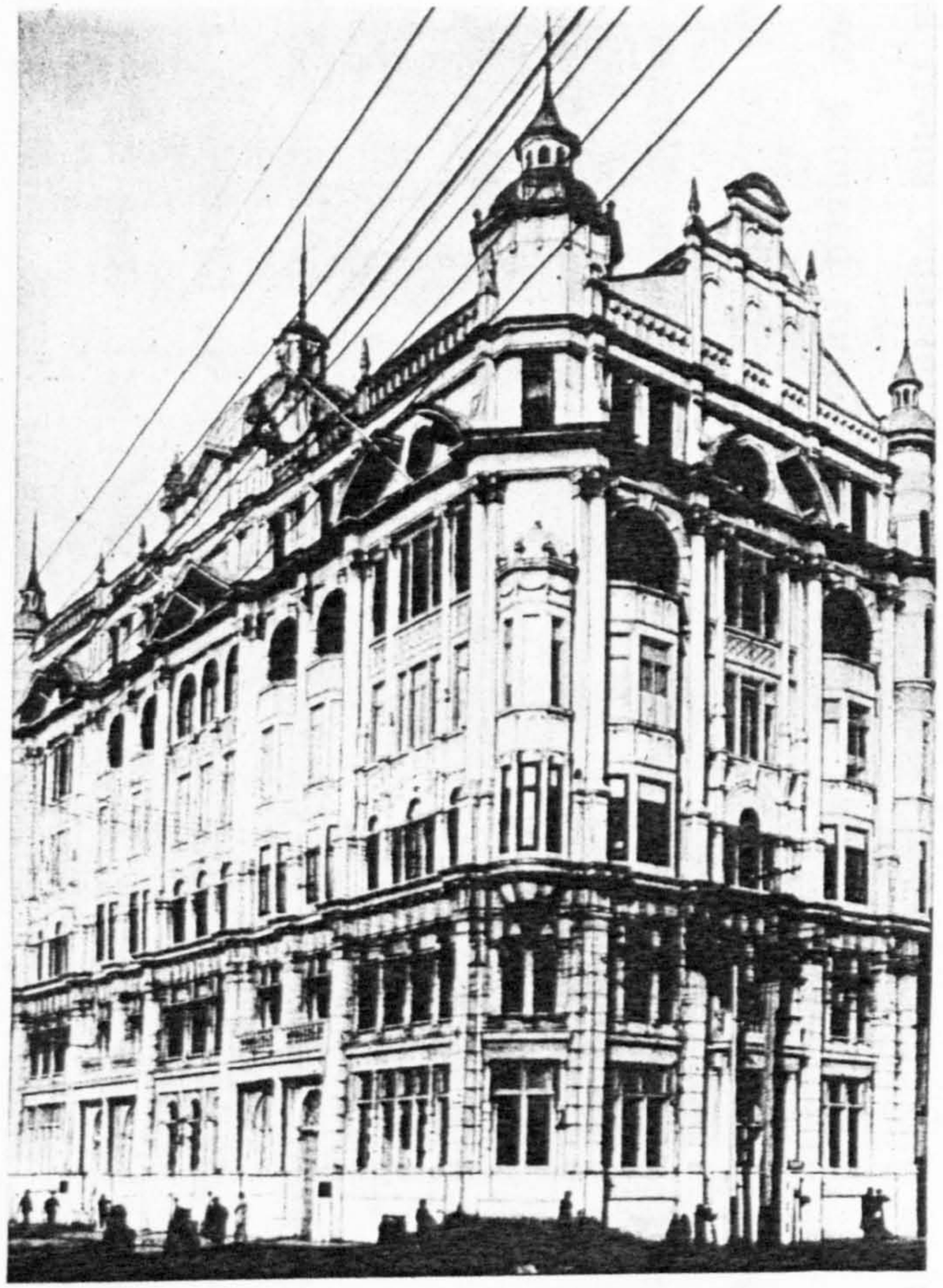
The architect combined the architectural styles of the Victorian and Edwardian phases in a highly eclectic manner. The long, six-

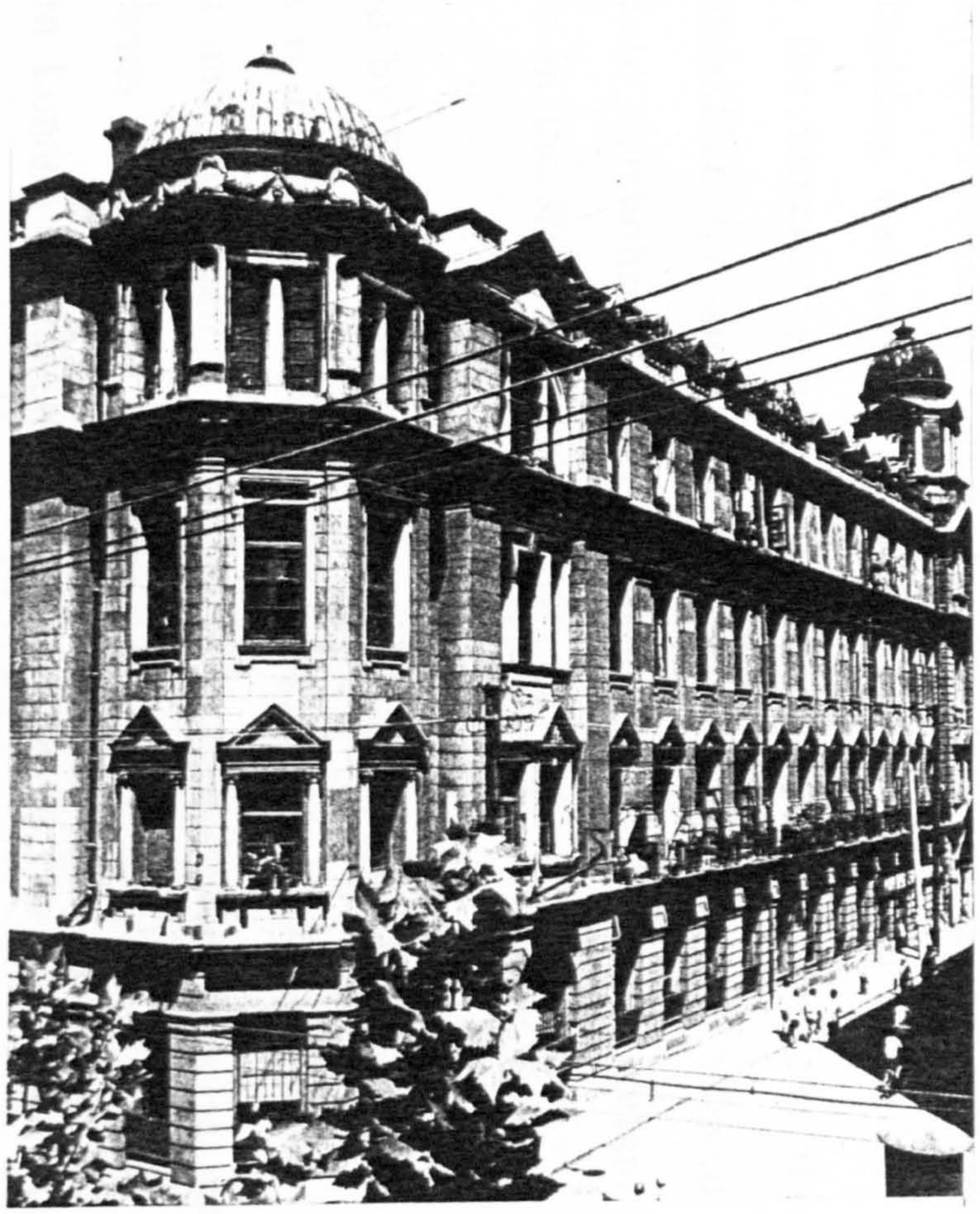
storeyed frontage of the building was divided symmetrically into five sections in the horizontal, and three parts in the vertical. The central and end sections were surmounted by broken pediments. In between are arched bays from the second to the fourth floors, which contained two-storeyed bow windows. It created one of the most intense of picturesque styles with Renaissance domes, Jacobean gables, Gothic steeples, Tudor turrets and modern lightning conductors. The treatment of the elevations was lavish with the addition of Venetian windows, oriel windows, eye windows, urns and finials. It could perhaps be only classed as the mannerist English Renaissance style — a mixture of eclectic motifs.

A change in British architecture in China took place at the turn of the twentieth century after the long reign of Queen Victoria came to an end in 1901. By then, the reaction against Victorian eclecticism also affected the British architecture in China. The English revival of classicism in its Baroque forms manifested itself first in such a building as the Ta-Ch'ing Government Bank. [4-10] It was the second of three government banks founded before the end of the Manchu dynasty. In 1905, the Ch'ing government established the Board of Revenue Bank with 4 million silver taels of capital. In 1908 the government reorganised the bank as the Ta-Ch'ing Government Bank with capital of 10 million *yuan*. The building was designed by Atkinson & Dallas and built in 1908 when three-year-old P'u-i came to the throne and became the last Emperor of China.

In the design, the architects gave up their early experiment with the Chinese style in the Mixed Court, and employed Western style directly on the building of the Ta-Ch'ing Bank. In fact, the adoption of the Western style for this Chinese building was also actuated by the need of Chinese side, with the revived Ch'ing government resorting to half-hearted Western-style political and institutional reform between 1901 and 1911. The architects' invention and originality were shown in the use of the Renaissance language that was perhaps due to Reginal Blomfield's influential book, *A History of Renaissance Architecture in England*, published in 1897. The overall feeling of the Ta-Ch'ing Bank closely recalls John Belcher's elevation of Electra House in 1901—03 that was widely illustrated and had great influence in the decade.

The Ta-Ch'ing Bank building on Hankow Road has four storeys plus the attic with pedimental dormers. The asymmetric frontage is based on a free Italian Renaissance style with the addition of Baroque motifs. The ground floor is rusticated and has an arched doorway with a broken pediment. The first floor is more ornamental than the others. It has windows with triangular pediments and a Palladian window above the entrance. The important rooms with three-light windows form two vertical bays framed by pilasters and broken pediments. A beautiful Wren-style domed tower is set over the entrance bay, echoed by a corner dome on the west wing of the building. The west and part of the south elevations are faced with stone, but another part of the south elevation is finished by red tiles.





[4-9] Shanghai Mutural Telephone Company, 1908, by British architects, Shanghai, demolished. (left)
[4-10] Ta-Ch'ing Government Bank, 1908, by Atkinson & Dallas, now Shanghai Society of Disabled People, 50 Han Kou Road, Shanghai. (right)

The Shanghai Club at No.3 the Bund was reconstructed in 1909, just one year before King Edward VII died. [4-11] It might be seen as the first apotheosis of the High Edwardian Baroque style in British architecture in China. For the time being the architect of the building was clearly caught up in the general desire to emulate the imperial grandeur that dominated Britain just then. This remarkable five-storeyed building was also to be viewed as a desire to symbolise Shanghai taipans as the most important influence in the life of the city.

Designed by R. B. Moorhead, it is very Edwardian in character with its rusticated ground floor, colonnade of colossal Ionic columns and attic with a high roof. The two Italian cupolas stand on the ends in a manner reminiscent of William Young's War Office in London (1898—1906). The facade is finished with local Ninpo granite. Inside, the imposing exterior is echoed in a series of grand rooms with interior decoration of classicism. The main rooms are grouped round a two-storey long oval atrium supported by doubled columns. A semicircular staircase of white Sicilian marble on the right winds around a cage-type lift. The dining room is panelled with Jacobean furnishings. Its bar counter is a hundred feet in length.

The Shanghai Club had been the symbol of British colonialism, which is considered notorious for the privileged life of the British taipans of the past. "The Chinese will never forget that if there is a building which needs immediate demolition by natural and

[4-11] Shanghai Club, 1909, by R. E. Moorhead, now Dong Feng Hotel, 3 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.

unnatural means, it is that magnificent structure on the billion-dollar Bund", lashed out Shanghai's *China Outlook* in 1937, the Club "should be pulled down brick by brick—the bricks to be given to the Chinese beggars", and "the lot to be surrendered to the Rickshaw Puller's Mutual Aid Association so that the latter could build up a hostel for the poor and maltreated coolies".[63] In 1953 three years after the communist general Chen Yi took over Shanghai, the prediction of the *China Outlook* came partly true: the building was transformed into a seamen's hostel. The taipans, needless to say, are no longer to be seen.

In Tientsin, one of the most important British buildings during this period was the Tientsin Club, which was designed by Algar & Beesley, a Shanghai firm, and built in 1903—05. [4-12] On a high basement, the general sense of the two-storeyed club recalls the British town hall building. The projecting central section is the focus of the building, which is characterised by arched windows and an arched entrance with Gibbsian surrounds and stone dressing. The giant order of double columns rise up an open pediment. There is a balcony above the entrance. The Gibbsian windows are repeated at the curved corners.

This fine red-brick facade to the street shows how quickly the Renaissance style was transferred to the English Baroque style. It is the first time the high columned bays appeared in the British building in China just after John Belcher showed his original in the Colchester Town Hall, Essex (1897—1902), although they are not very comfortable in this building. Different from the Shanghai

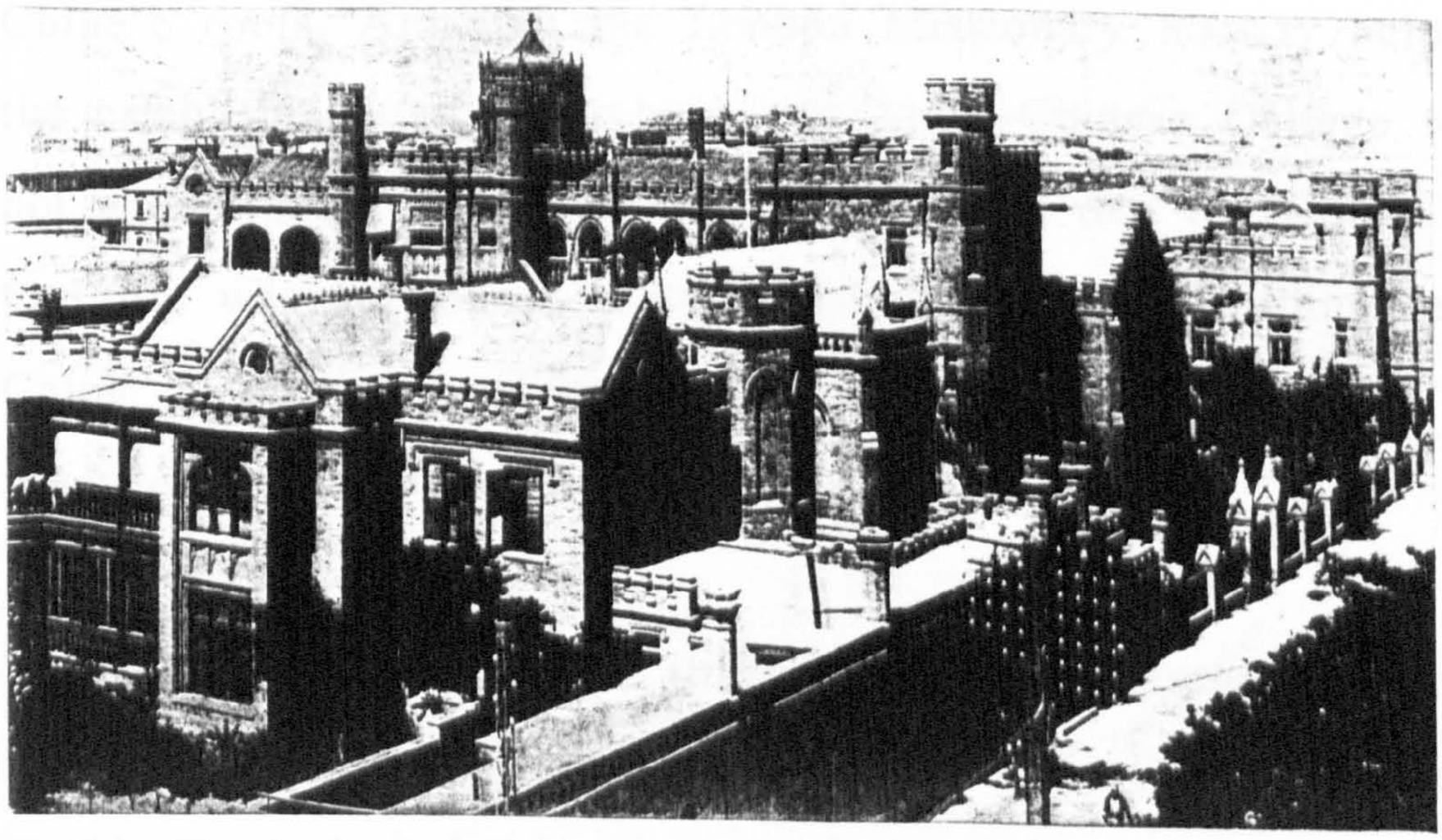
Club, the treatment of the elevation of the Tientsin Club made the ground floor more important, instead of the first floor, so as to reflect the interior. The building was seriously destroyed in the great earthquake in 1976, but fortunately, it was rebuilt in accordance with the architectural archives under the insistence of Yu Fu-jing, the chief architect of the Tientsin Municipality.

Picturesque and castellated motifs, with the first in evidence in the Gordon Hall of 1890, became more assertive in urban settings in Tientsin. An application of the Tudor castle building in educational building was the Anglo-Chinese College in Tientsin. [4-13] It was a result of the Ch'ing reforms in the adoption of Western elements in education after the Boxer rebellion in 1900. Recognising the need for Western knowledge of science and technology, the Chinese government decided to convert education into a Western-style public school system in 1904. At the end of 1905, the government established the Ministry of Education to take charge of the new schools, and finally in 1906, the government changed the civil-service examination system. The new type of schools were mostly set up in Shanghai, Tientsin and Wuchang. In 1904, the total number of the new schools was 4,222, and in 1909, the number was 52,348, which indicated a rapid development in school building. Foreign-founded schools were important models for these new type of schools.

The Anglo-Chinese College, or as it was called *Xin Xie Shu Yuan* (the College of New Learning) in Chinese, was one of the new schools opened by the London Missionary Society in Tientsin

[4-12] Tientsin Club, 1903—05, by Algar & Beesley, now Tientsin People's Congress Hall, 201 North Jiefang Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[4-13] Anglo-Chinese College, 1900s, architect unknown, Taku Road, Tientsin, demolished. (lower)



during this period. Like many British buildings in China, it is not known who designed the building and when it was built. The building was possibly built between 1903 and 1909, because the hall of the college was named Yuan Hall after Yuan Shih K'ai,[64] who was in Tientsin as the Viceroy of Chihli during the period. He helped to establish the college. The complex was in the collegiate Gothic style, an adaptation of the Tudor Gothic found in British colleges, notably the buildings in Cambridge or Oxford. The buildings consisted of three enclosed courts, or quadrangles. The dining hall was a noble room with an open timber roof, and the combination room was a low-ceilinged Jacobean hall of great beauty. The college housed an interesting museum of Chinese curios, antiquities and the collection of the birds and wild animals of North China.

It was unique for its totally English architectural form, since school buildings usually adopted the colonial Chinese style with Chinese roofs. Although the London Missionary Society helped the establishment of the school, the Anglo-Chinese College was not a missionary school. It was an exception that the Gothic tradition was applied in a non-missionary school building in China. It was replaced by a modernist school building after the great earthquake of 1976.

British church architecture in the nineteenth century employed three principal architectural styles: the Classical Revival, the Gothic Revival, and the Arts and Crafts styles, but in Shanghai and Tientsin the Gothic appeared as the only choice for the

British church buildings. The Gothic for the Church of England can derive from the Cambridge Camden Society and the Oxford Society for Promoting the Study of Gothic Architecture in 1839, which were responsible for establishing the Gothic as the style for Anglican church architecture. The Church of England had since been insistent on this stylistic prejudice. It had an experiment with the continental Gothic style in the 1850s, and then returned to the English moulds in the 1870s.

British church buildings in Tientsin were all relatively simple in comparison with Shanghai, relying on only a few elements to suggest the Gothic style. The volumes and details accentuated the vertical by the tower, high-pitched roofs, pointed windows. There were often machicolations on the gable cornice. Tudor arches are usually seen especially in porches. The crenelated parapets and the projecting pinnacles are not very popular. The polychrome brick band is rarely used in the British churches, although it was favoured at the time in Britain. Bare grey brick was favoured for exteriors in Tientsin, but red brick in Shanghai.

The Union Church at Tientsin was built of brick in the English decorated Gothic style of the late Victorian phase. [4-14] The new church served the Protestant community at Tientsin until the 1950s. It was destroyed in the 1976 earthquake and completely demolished later. In comparison with the simplicity of the early church building, the new Union Church was higher, lighter and more elaborate. The square tower was located on the side, different from the early British church building, in which the

tower was in the centre. A tower with the porch was the major feature of the Victorian church. The angle-buttressed tower had louvered Y-lanterns and lancet windows and an octagon spire with lucarnes and four pinnacles over the tower. The north corner tower provided the west wall with the possibility of opening windows so that more natural light entered into the nave. On the west front a large flowing tracery was flanked on either side by relatively simple plate traceries, and surmounted by a wheel window. The steep gable was decorated with machicolations.

The Anglican Church of Tientsin began building in 1898, was delayed by the Boxer rebellion, and was completed in 1903. It is in the Early English Gothic style. The Anglican church architecture at the end of the nineteenth century preferred a type that emphasised the historical continuity of the Church of England with the Middle Ages. The designer, A. C. Moule was actually a linguist educated at Cambridge. He must have known the history of English church building well. Therefore, it was logical and natural for him to adopt the Early English style for the Tientsin Church of England.

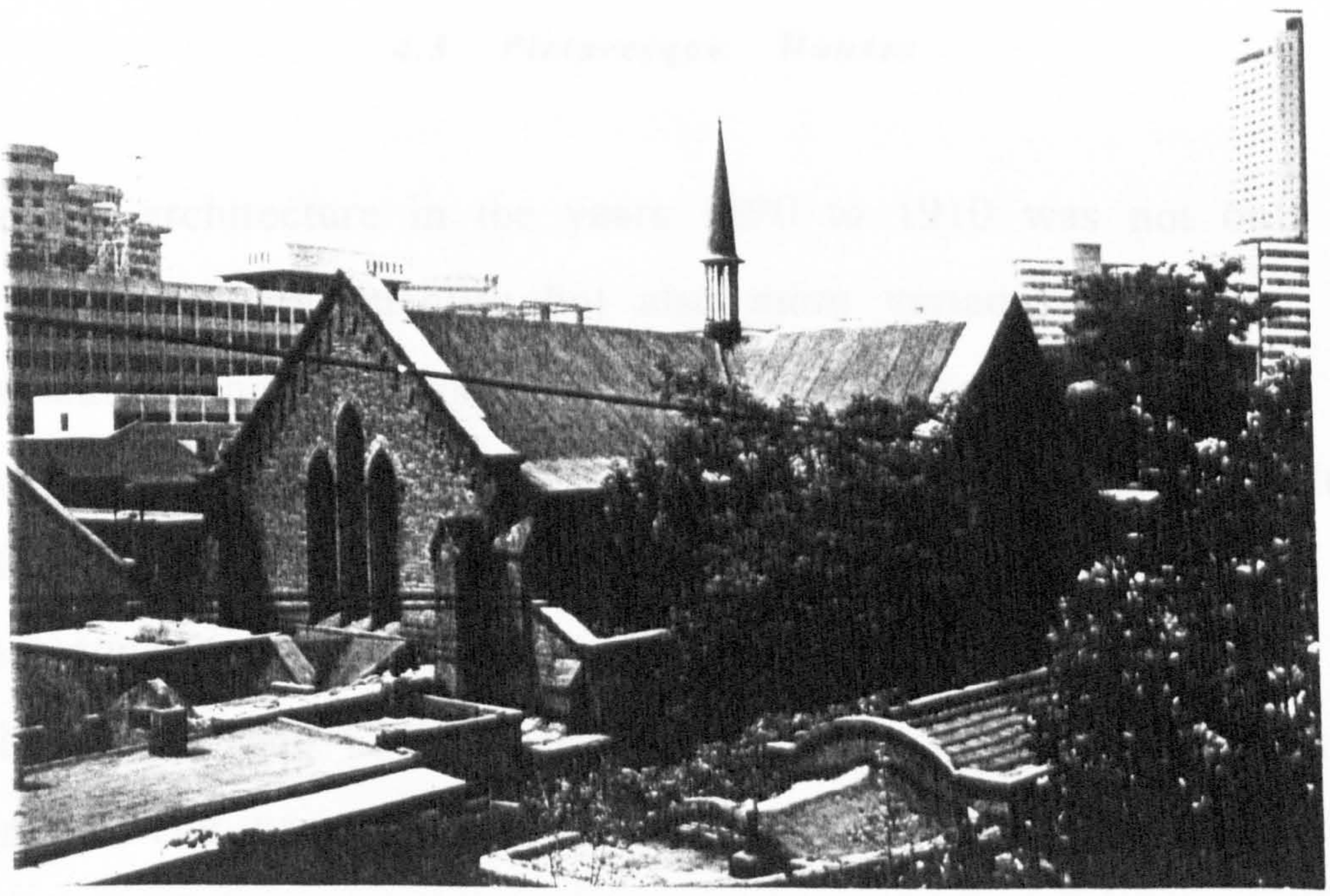
The Anglican Church building is built of brick with the timber roof, which has a high nave, low aisles, transepts and a semicircular apse. Like many Early English style churches, it had no tower but a flèche over the crossing. In addition there is a turret on the south-easytern corner. Stepped triple lancets are at the gable fronts with small lights and simple trumeaus, without

[4-14] Union Church, 1898, architect unknown, Gordon Road, Tientsin, demolished.

(upper)

[4-15] Anglican Church, 1898—1903, by A. C. Moule, now Tientsin Datong Corporation, 9 Tai An Road, Tientsin.

(lower)



hood moulds. The church would have been a typical Anglican church, if it were not characterised by the grey brick facades, round windows on the clerestory and the machicolation decorated on the gables.

British churches in Shanghai and Tientsin were usually humble and severe in comparison with the British trading houses and banks. A British church was usually a combination of a chancel, a nave, and a porch. The tower was not an architectural necessity. Most British churches were built of brick in the Early English style as modestly as thousands of churches in Britain built in the nineteenth century. The proportion of the interior is low. The roof is of wood with hardly any decoration. Lancet windows are used on the west front. The classical church building is rare in the British communities in China.

4.3 Picturesque Houses

Domestic architecture in the years 1890 to 1910 was not only more extensive in quantity but also more varied in character than that of the previous period. The British houses in China's treaty ports appeared to shift from Anglo-Indian colonial styles to the prevalent British styles, in particular those of the picturesque and eclectic styles. British influences on domestic design in the late Ch'ing period were profound in Shanghai and Tientsin. The variety of British architectural styles provided the British in China with more choices of domestic architecture.

During this period, Britain led housing design in the Western world both in technology and in architectural aesthetics. It had a great influence on European domestic architecture, and made British architects such as Philip Webb, R. Norman Shaw and C. F. A. Voysey famous in the Western architectural circle in China. The various architectural modes of Victorian domestic architecture were introduced into the treaty ports with the expansion of trade and population. The most innovative houses were done in the Queen Anne and the Arts and Crafts styles. While the former was free classical under Dutch influences, the latter was largely based on vernacular tradition and placed great emphasis on exquisite craftsmanship.

By the 1890s the process of separating offices from living quarters made an appearance in the city. The foreign settlements were mostly a male and business society. Residence meant quartering in ramshackle compounds, in junior hongs, or warehouses, or on jetties with offices. In the old hong house, business and living spaces jumbled together: the business premises were on the ground floor while the living sections were placed on the upper floor. This type of building with its large windows and polychrome brickwork was rarely built after the late nineteenth century, but many of them survived and were adapted to other uses.

The growing desire to live away from work corresponded to British patterns with family life superseding "hong life".

Similarly, it was for the benefit of the family that the settlement had now extensive suburbs dotted with picturesque villa residences standing in their garden grounds. Houses with many rooms were built for a large family with many servants. Business and private life were kept apart. The tradesmen went to live in the more selected residential quarters from their warehouses. But the commercial-residential type of housing remained and became an important urban vernacular as a solution to the expansive land in the rapidly expanding city. The new variant on this type was the flat block that combined two different functions: the ground floor was for commercial purpose and related to the street with, or without, an arcade, and upper floors were used as storage, owner-occupied or rented flats. The terraced houses at 72—92 Huangpu Road, Shanghai must have witnessed this change of "hong life". [4-16]

[4-16] Houses, 1890s, architect unknown, 72—92 Huangpu Road, Shanghai.

The country house and suburban detached house represented an important part of British architectural culture. To the British residents in China, the house was not just a shelter from the weather, but also a small society to keep the English way of life and British social order that were left behind in Britain. Some mansions were more just dwellings. They also played the role of a social contact centre. The size of the house was necessitated by the occupant's social position and social ambition. While in Britain, the English aristocracy and gentry attempted to keep to the old English tradition, the *nouveaux riches* in Shanghai wanted their houses to be as showy as those of their predecessors in the East India Company. The French Renaissance style was particularly favoured by bankers and merchants. The residence of the taipan of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank owes something to the combination of the French and Anglo-Indian influences on the British house-designing in China at the time.

Despite alteration over the years, it is still possible to define the original functions of the rooms according to their layout. The south-eastern orientation of the house is certainly best in Shanghai as well as in England, which provides most rooms with sunlight. The principal rooms also look onto the garden and over the street. There is invariably an open porch in the front of the main entrance in the English house. In the lobby men can leave their coats in the cloakroom, while the women would leave their cloaks on the first floor. The hall in the English house is one of the most prominent spaces and dominates the plan, which

provides the transition and link between the residential rooms and connecting rooms. There is no equivalent room in the Chinese house. Its open staircase in the hall was very common in the dwelling houses in England, although Hermann Muthesius did not think it was a good design for British way of life.[65] Besides the main staircase, there is a service staircase behind the dining room extending right through from the cellar to the attic. Two rooms beside the hall are obviously the morning-room and the drawing-room.

The drawing-room is a rallying point of social life in the English house, which derives from the withdrawing room of the seventeenth-century English manor for ladies after dinner. In the Chinese house, the inter-hall is similar somehow to the drawing-room. Understanding its important function, the architect of the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank residence placed the drawing-room on the ground floor in the south-easterly aspect with bright light, pleasing sunshine and a fine view of the landscape. There are large French doors leading from the drawing-room onto the verandah, from which the lawn and the tennis-courts can be reached.

The dining-room is also an important family space in the English house, unlike the Chinese house, in which there is no fixed space for the dining-room. In the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank residence, the dining space is a long room on the ground floor, arranged further to one side than the drawing-room and adjoined by the kitchen department on another side. The entrance to the dining-

room for gentry is separated from that for the servants, in the English tradition. The difference is that the dining-room has a south-westerly aspect, which would be thought impracticable in England, because the rays of the setting sun in the summer would make it uncomfortable for people to sit facing the windows. The dining-room opens onto the verandah, although there were originally doors leading to the verandah from the drawing-room.

The large room at the northern corner on the ground floor is perhaps the billiard-room that always appeared in the grand English house at the time. Visitors were able to spend their time here in the boring rainy season of Shanghai. The room with its own lavatory is situated near the main entrance so that visitors may enter and leave at night without coming into contact with the rest of household. The upper floor is occupied by bedrooms. The master's bedroom is at the eastern end with the man's dressing-room and a private lavatory. The room at another end is perhaps used as the living room for ladies. The room in the middle may be the boudoir with a communicating door to the master's bedroom.

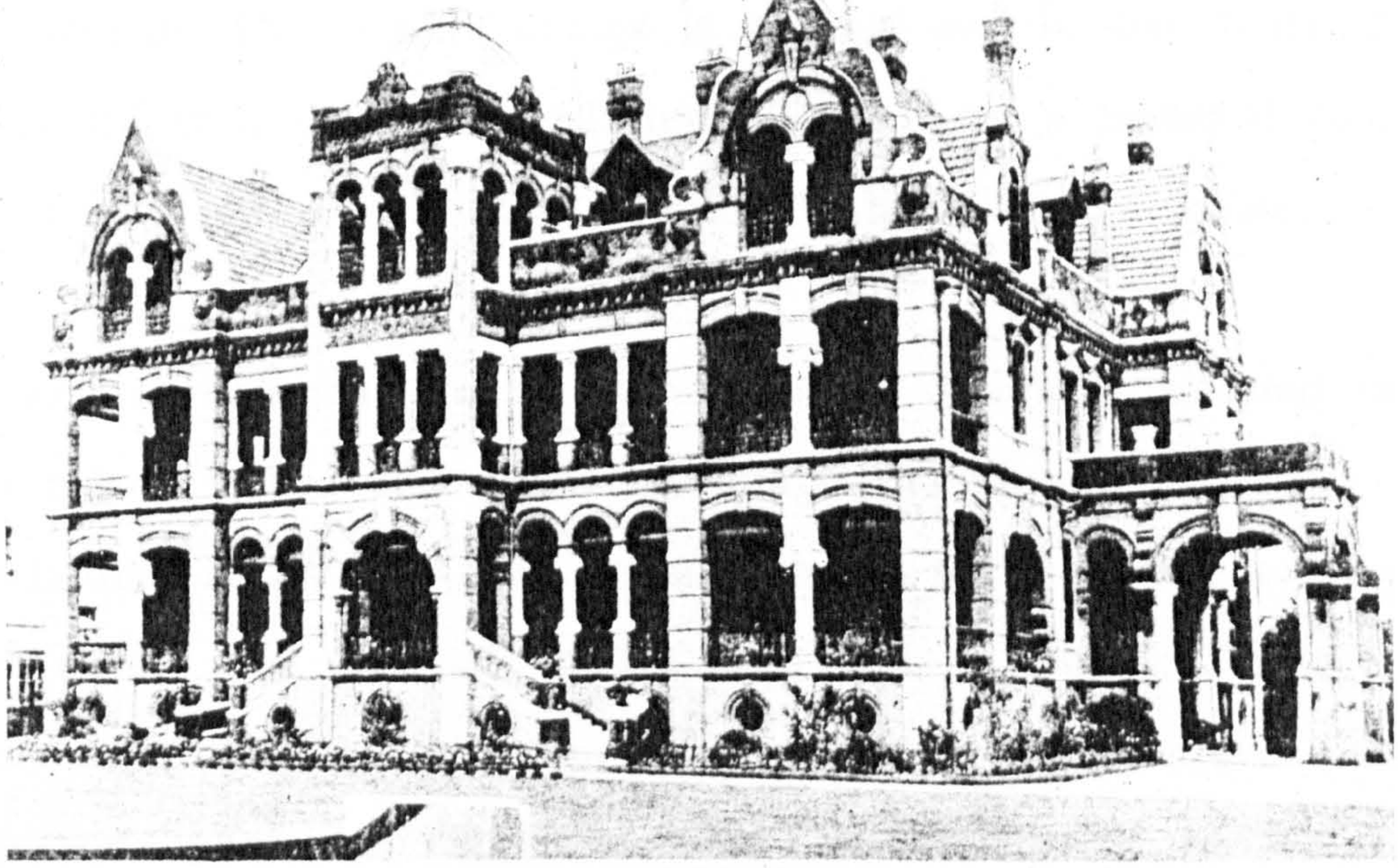
The fire-place distinguished the English house from the Chinese house, and influences the construction of the house in some aspects. A fire only means heating the room to the Chinese, but to the English a fire in a house is like a soul in a body. The fire-place convinces the Englishman of its superiority to other means of heating and its aesthetic importance for a house. In the

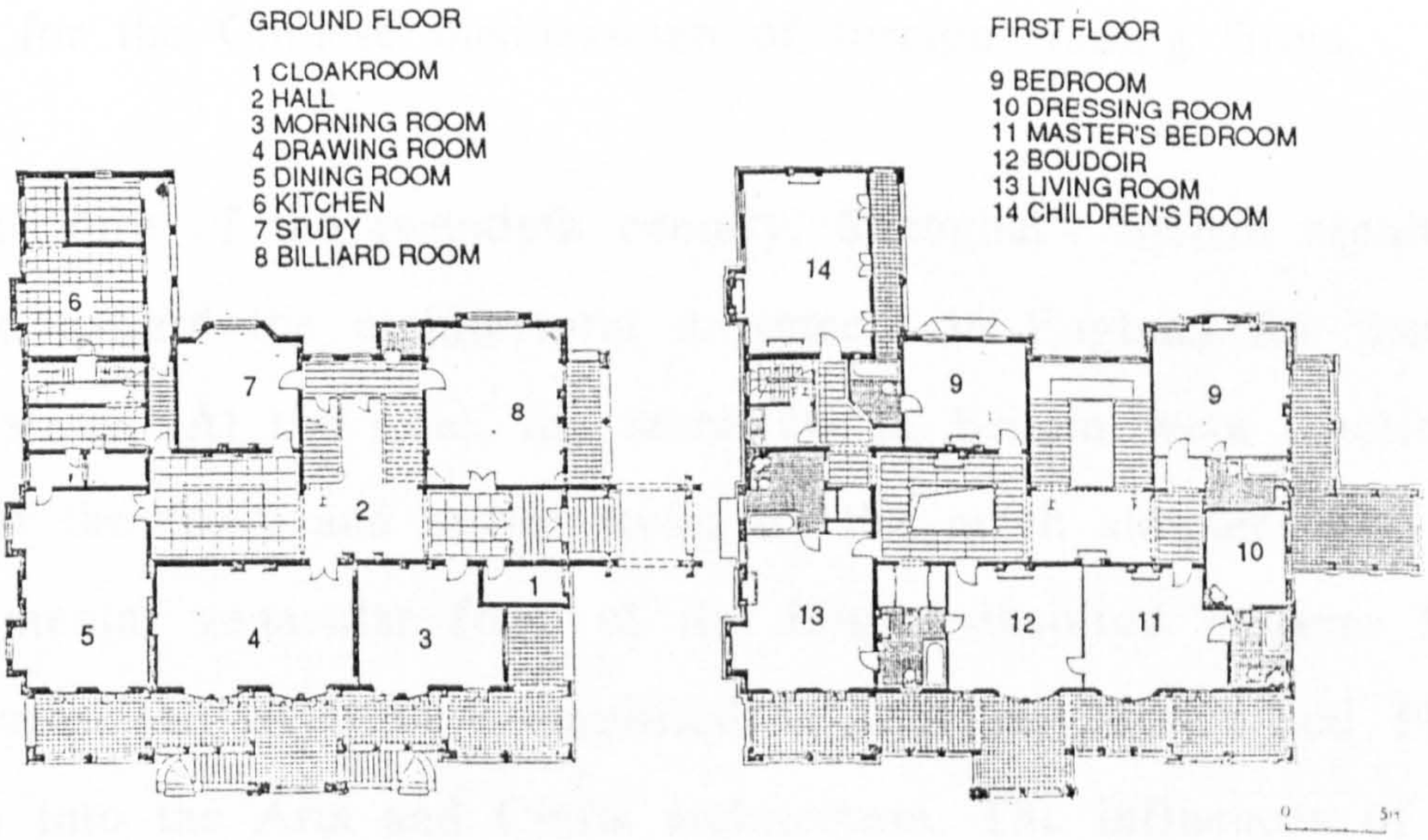
Hongkong & Shanghai Bank residence, the fire-place is on the internal wall and at a focal position in each room as a dominant architectural feature. Every fire-place has a flue that accounts for the immense chimney-stacks on the roof.

The door in the British house is as important for the way of life as in the Chinese house. In the Chinese traditional house, doors were situated in the centre or a side of the wall. In the English houses, for example, the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank residence, the position of the door is always at the end of the wall. This design rule comes from an essential point that people in the sitting area should be disturbed by the opening of the door. Therefore, the door will be some distance away from the sitting area and the fire place where the draught from the door cannot reach them.

This point is also reflected in the direction of the door-opening. In the planning of an English house, the door always opens towards the main area of the room so that the person entering shall not be able to have a first glance of the whole room until he walks round the door, which means that the door opens towards the fire-place in a sitting room, or towards the desk in a study, or bed in a bedroom. When a visitor first opens the door of the morning-room or the living room, he seems to be walking into a wall. Before he opens the door wide and sees the room in its entirety, the person in the room is able to prepare himself for the visitor.

[4-17] The Hongkong & Shanghai Bank Residence, 1900s, architect unknown, West Nanking Road, Shanghai.





The elevations can be described on their completion as a showy and bizarre mixture, which are traceable to the mid-Victorian grand style of the pattern books. The design gave particular emphasis to the silhouette and surface texture of the exterior. The appearance of the facade is rich with the use of a great deal of ornament. The south frontage is arcaded and in five parts: in the centre is a three-storeyed tower capped by a mansard roof; each end is terminated by a pavilion with a fantastic gable.

It was common that foreign residences in Shanghai adopted the pattern-book types and styles. Although the Gothic and Elizabethan styles had felt out of fashion, some notable examples were found. The domestic styles were various. Toye's House, which was built in 1900, had an elevation of the medieval castle with warehouse-like verandahs and French mansard roofs on corner towers, [4-18] while Lincoln Lough's House reveals Richardsonian traces. [4-19] These British merchants' houses had many Chinese versions called the "Compradoric style" after the name for the Chinese businessmen of foreign trading firms.

By the turn of the twentieth century, Shanghai's British architects looked toward the architectural movement in England for their inspirations. At the time, the architects in Britain were reacting against the fussy and exotic styles by the much simpler and fundamental venacular form of the English-inspired houses. They developed the tradition exemplified by William Morris and Philip Webb into the Arts and Crafts architecture. The influences of this movement were seen on the Macgregor House, Shanghai. [4-20]

[4-18] Toye's House, 1900, architect unknown, now Shanghai II University of Industry, 80 North Shan Xi Road, Shanghai.

[4-19] Lincoln Lough's House, 1900, architect unknown, Shanghai.

[4-20] Macgregor House, 1900s, architect unknown, 33 Wu Kong Road, Shanghai.

The Macgregor House represents the beautiful simplicity of Arts and Crafts architecture. It is substantial, although not showy by comparison with other taipans' residences. The architect used white plastered walls enriched with red brick and tiles for the base, details, roofs and chimney-stacks. The timber-framed gable provides an off-central accent. The revival of vernacular techniques is seen clearly in the half-timbering and tile-hung gables, and sturdy brackets supporting the upper floors. the horizontal cottage windows and leaded glass purposely indicates the Art and Crafts source. This late Victorian house illustrates the simple and informal qualities of the vernacular building, and place itself firmly in the mould of the Domestic Revival as the reaction against the showiness of mid-Victorian styles.

The 1890s saw a steady growth of new urban classes in the treaty ports. Related to the capitalist development was a process of social change that led to the emergence of such new groups as the comprador-businessmen, salaried professionals and working proletariat classes. These new Chinese classes were born in the treaty port cities, and their growth was linked to Western influences, led by reformist mandarins and semi-official merchants. When a modern economic sector began to take shape in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, this social group tried to seize control of it and reserve its benefit for themselves. They did not really want a social revolution, but needed a lessening of tension, and increased freedom. They fought for social status and political influence in the new, wealthy establishment.

Due to the rigid feudal hierarchy, these people were still disinclined to build luxurious and comparable Chinese houses to mark their expanding wealth. It led to a strange social phenomenon in that they built or bought houses in the name of foreign residents in the foreign settlements. Luxurious residences surrounded with large gardens for high-rank citizens were built. Many of the houses of the taipans were as magnificent as royal residences had been in the past. The interest in novel foreign styles such as the French or Italian Renaissance and the Queen Anne style was particularly popular among these *noveaux riches*.

This was the occasion for introducing the Queen Anne style

architecture into China. Its curved and picturesque roofing line, red colouration, carved brick section and narrow windows were closely associated with the inspiration of the Chinese architectural tradition. The hybrid Anglo-Indian colonial style was easily transmuted into this mixed style, and the British houses now moved from colonial hybridisation to English stylisation.

In comparison with public architecture, the domestic buildings were more stylistically varied. A reawakened interest in the Western styles combined with the Queen Anne architecture contributed to the linong house with varied roof and gable forms. This movement of domestic architecture soon spread out in Shanghai and Tientsin and also reached the other treaty ports in China. It was encouraged by the economic prosperity and liberal thought that prevailed in the treaty ports.

The Queen Anne style had many diverse styles in China. The style derived principally from the work of the prolific Scots architect Richard Norman Shaw. The style was one of the most popular variants of late Victorian free styles. It mixed architectural elements from English Gothic, Dutch and French classical architectures, and combined local construction techniques and local building materials. Special emphasis was given to varied silhouette of roofs, which encouraged the use of curved gables, dormers, high chimneys, towers and turrets. The constant use of brick and white stone trim with a fondness for balconies, oriels, and cupolas gave it an appropriate air of gaiety.

This eclectic tendency towards exaggeration was developed often a little further to take off into fantasy. In plan, the typical Queen Anne house was irregular.

In the terraced houses at 70—74 Jianshe Road, Tientsin, the picturesque vernacular influences are evident in this Queen Anne style terrace. [4-21] The elevation was articulated by the stylistic roof gables and red brick walls with stone dressing. It is sweet and light in the waving rhythm of vertical gables and horizontal verandahs. The wooden windows are Elizabethan in feeling: large to let in plenty of light. Another terraced house in the same street gives an example of more classical-detailed houses built in the Queen Anne style. [4-22] These two housing estates were built at the same time and are almost twins in planning, structure and building material, but they bring difference and variety to the street elevation. In fact in the British house design, the facade and the planning are often two different concerns. After the overall composition of the frontage was established on the basis of the planning, the decorative elements, gables, surrounds of doors and windows, and so on were added.

Another typical British-style suburban development was the semi-detached house,sharing one party wall with its counterpart neighbour. To take one from many examples, the houses at the 707th Lane, West Beijing Road, Shanghai are a typical pair of brick semi-detached houses built in 1907. They incorporate elements of the Queen Anne style, but the large arcaded windows are a free adaption of the warehouse style. The complex glazing

[4-21] Terraced house, 1904, architect unknown, 70—74, Jianshe Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[4-22] Terraced house, 1904, architect unknown, 105—111, Jianshe Road, Tientsin. (lower)

and coloured glass of the front door are emblematic of the Aesthetic Movement. The semi-detached house with its own garden was a peculiarly English idea of living, yet found echoes in the Chinese tradition.

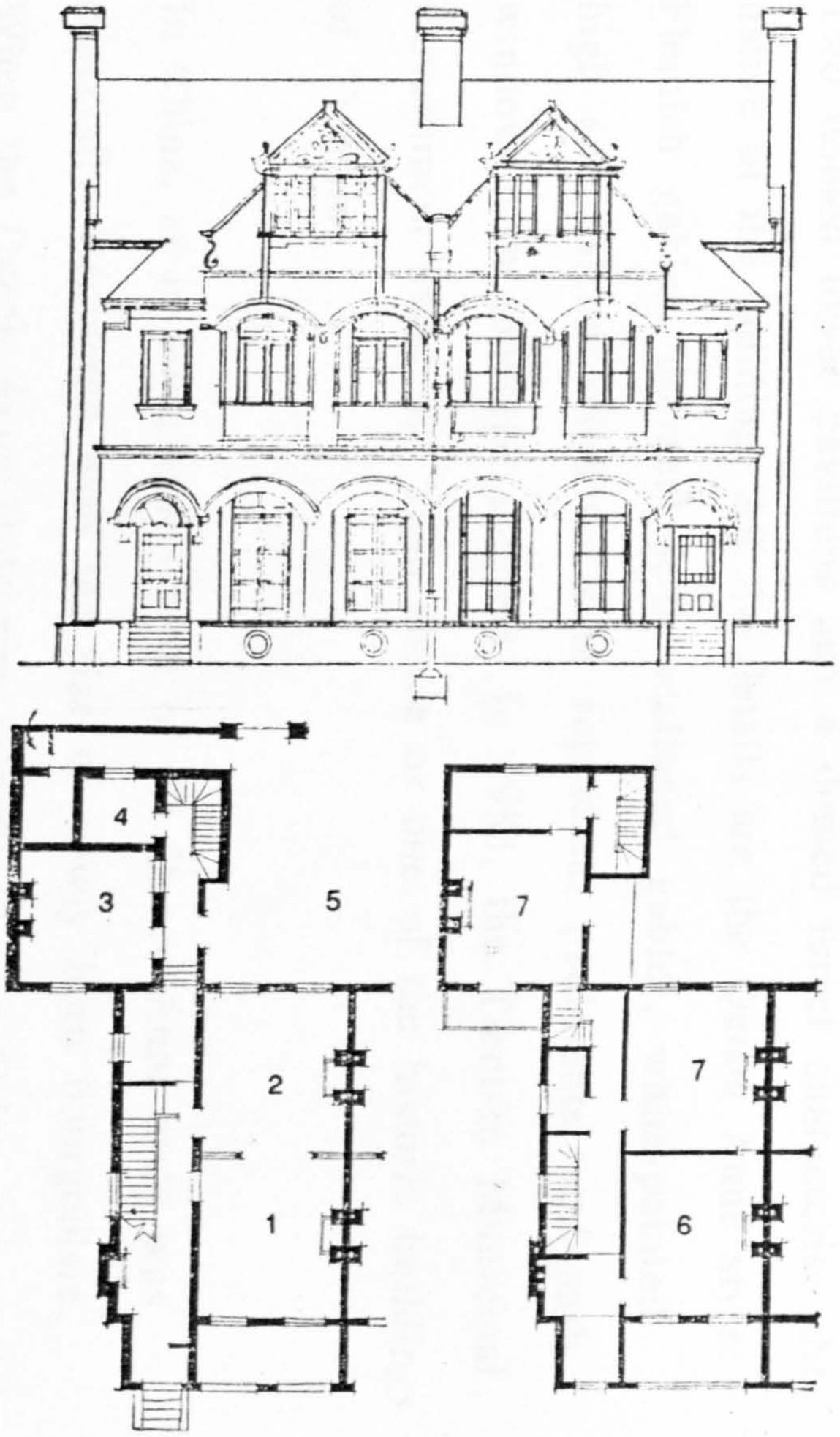
The planning of the British house pursues seclusion, privacy and convenience. There are passages to rooms, like the corridors in the Chinese house, so that people do not have to go through a room to another. The main staircase is placed at the far end of the passage, and the bottom of the staircase faces the entrance. This arrangement of the staircase was not usual in a British small house, but it was the British idea that the staircase did not give the visitor access to the bedroom floor. The architect was clever to make use of the space under the staircase for a fireplace, and to extend the entrance space. Unlike Chinese people, the British thought the bedroom absolutely private.

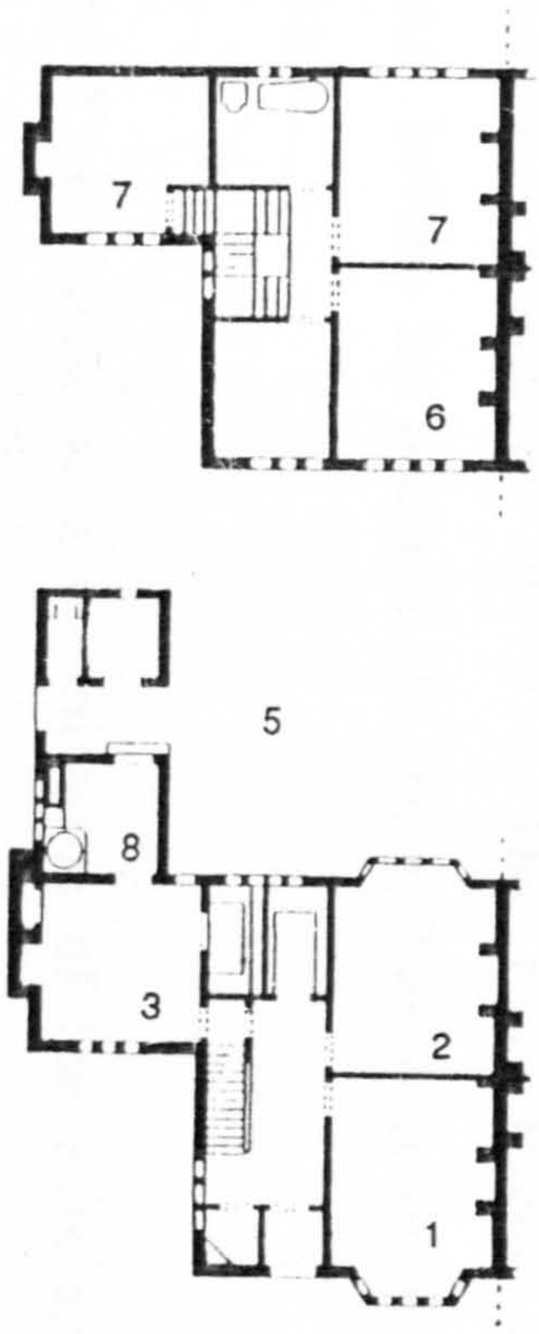
The way servants were accommodated also said more about the concerns for privacy in a British house. Servants lived with the masters under one roof, but they were people of a different class, and mostly, of a different race as well. The master did not want to be overlooked by the servants, but he wanted to observe them. The back extension was the natural place for servants' bedrooms, which was away from the master bedrooms and closer to the kitchen. There was a separate entrance and kitchen for the servants, and a back staircase to the servants' room. This hierarchical principle in dwelling was also seen in the Chinese house, in which the living quarters for the masters and the

servants were separated by courtyards.

The plan of houses on the 707th lane is reminiscent of a semi-detached house at Worcestershire, England, designed by Bateman & Bateman, which was an important architectural firm in Birmingham between 1887 and 1900, specialising in the small house. The design by Bateman & Bateman was a pleasant layout with great freedom of movement. The house has four bedrooms. The entrance-hall incorporates a staircase with three quarter-turns. A large kitchen is sited to one side of the hall. Its counterpart in Shanghai has a similar plan, but it extends the building area to five bedrooms plus a mezzanine.

Although the plan of the 707th lane houses is similar to Bateman's design, the formal usage of rooms is different somehow. On the ground floor, the entrance hall is reduced to vestibule ; the kitchen has been moved backward and closer to the dining room; the space for scullery was used as the servants' kitchen; and a back staircase takes the place of the pantry. It should be noticed that there is a combination of the dining room and the sitting room in an open plan, which was, it is said, not usual in the British houses until the 1950s. On the first floor, the dressing room becomes a bathroom; there is a communicating door between the two bedrooms. In the back extension, there is a mezzanine for accommodation of the servants. There are two balconies, instead of the two-storeyed bay windows, which are more suitable for the weather of Shanghai.





1 PARLOUR
2 DINING
3 KITCHEN
4 SERVANT'S KITCHEN
5 YARD
6 MASTER'S BEDROOM
7 BEDROOM
8 SCULLERY

[4-23] Semi-detached houses, 1907, architect unknown, 707th Lane, West Beijing Road, Shanghai. (left)

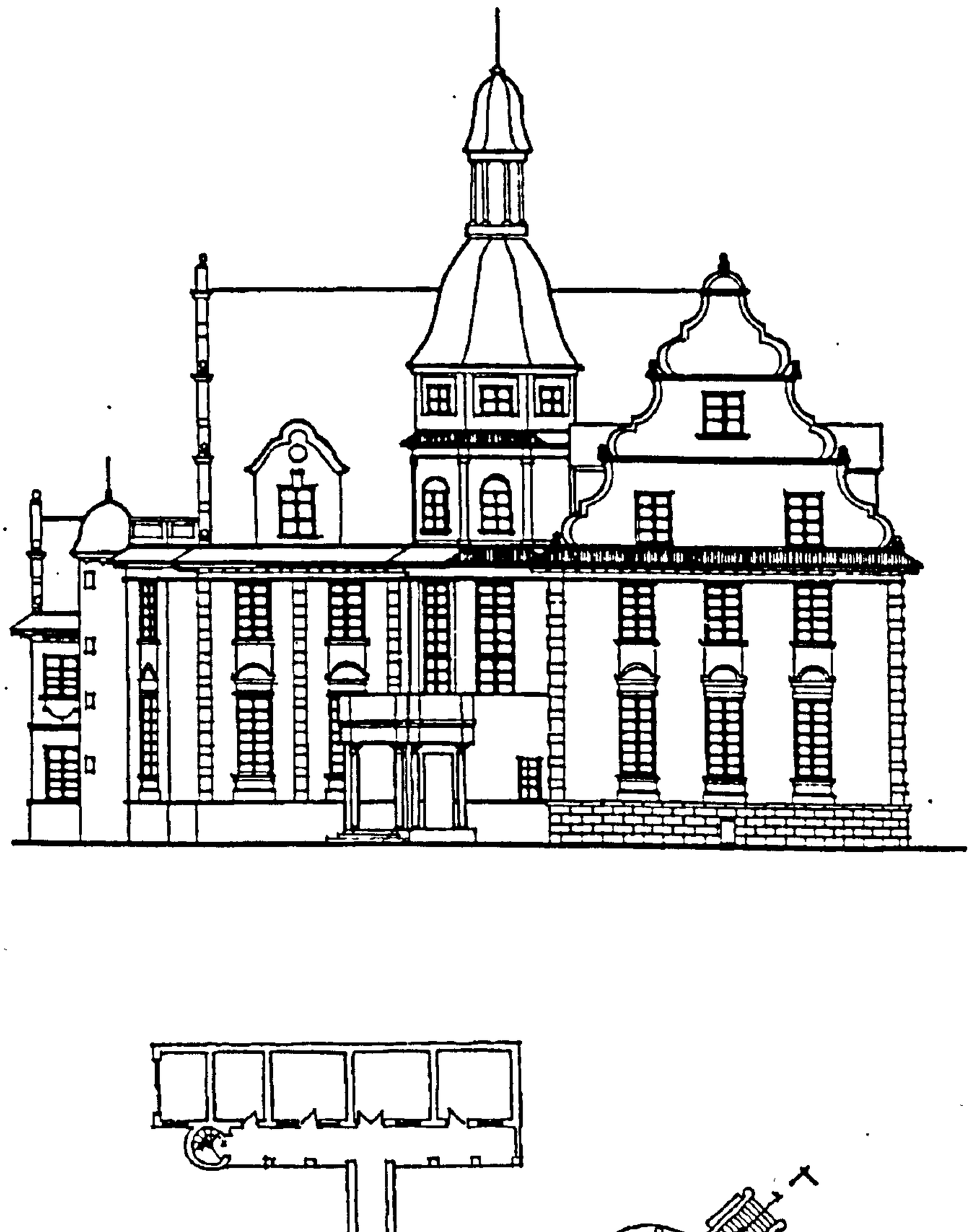
[4-24] Plan of a semi-detached house, 1890s, by Bateman & Bateman, Kings Heath Worcestershire, England. (right)

In Tientsin, the Yuan House on the Haihe River is an excellent example of the "Queen Anne" detached house in China. [4-25] The house was designed by British and German architects for Yuan Shih-k'ai, the Viceroy of Chihli. Yuan had ten wives and built many houses in Tientsin for his family. Yuan Shih-k'ai, a military leader and political careerist, was to be a crucial figure in the bourgeois revolution of 1911. The Yuan House was built just five years before he became the first President of the Republic of China.

The Yuan house is a combination of the Arts and Craft butterfly plan and the Queen Anne style. In its asymmetry and genial free classical motifs, the design was inspired by different sources. The elevation is articulated by stylistic roof gables. It was built in a distinctive combination of white stone walls and red steep roofs. Two domed tower pavilions and a domed turret characterise the nature of the building. All the details are the Queen Anne style: Flemish gables, dormers with scalloped gables, white-painted high and narrow windows with segmental pediments, and sash window with louvered shutters. In 1985, the Tientsin Municipal Government listed the Yuan House as one of the historic buildings of Tientsin.

In China, as in Britain, the birth of the Queen Anne style was especially associated with the rise of newly born bourgeoisie. When the Queen Anne style was introduced into China, the social and economic climate in British Shanghai and Tientsin

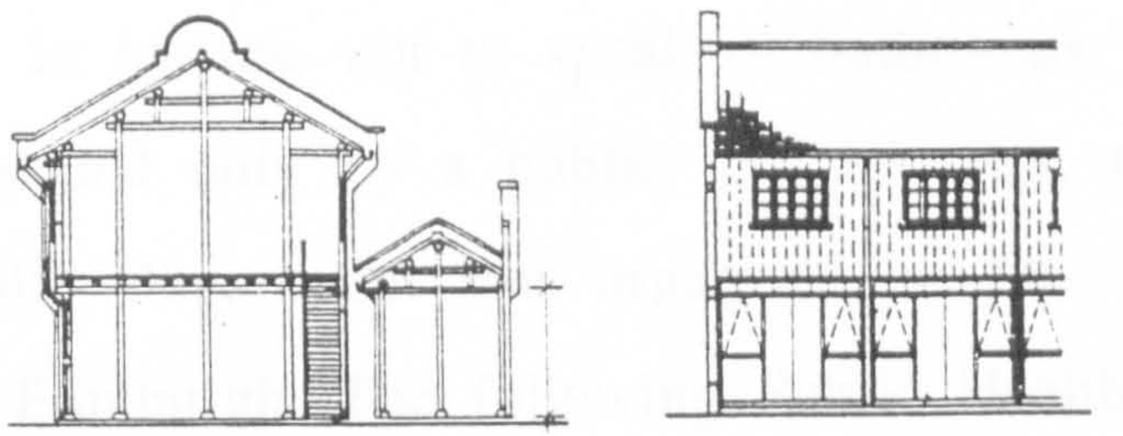
[4-25] Yuan House, 1908, by British and German architects, 39 East Haihe Road, Tientsin.

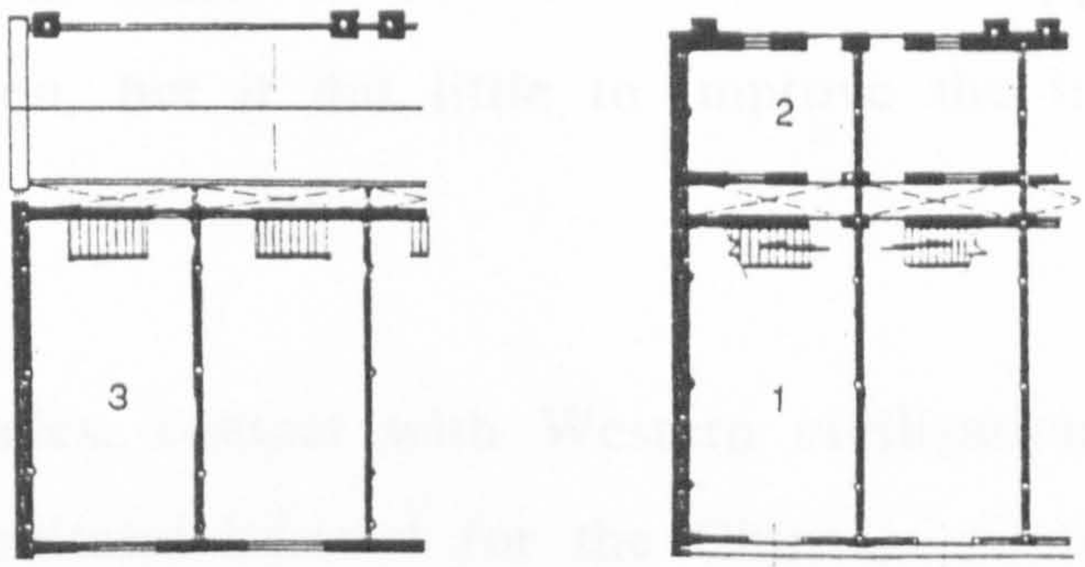


encouraged its reception. There seemed to be a natural tie between the Queen Anne style and colonial style architectures, both of which were free in adaptation of different architectural sources, and related directly or indirectly with English architecture at the same time. The Queen Anne style flourished because it satisfied the needs of the latest growth of the upper middle classes. It was perfectly capable of replacing the colonial style without much change in building techniques and building materials. The Queen Anne style was received well because it satisfied the latest fashionable tastes of both foreign and Chinese clients for their "saturnalian" way of life.

The gap between the rich and the poor was wide and deep. Although for the wealthy, life was enjoyed in an atmosphere of luxury and support, there were many social injustices and hardship for the workers and the poor. The estate villages for workers were developed in the industrial districts. The concept of workers' villages near their places of employment was generally associated with English experiences of the industrial towns, which suggested a high-density row layout. This type of workers' house was one-up-and-one-down. [4-26] The living conditions for the working class were very low and truly awful. The standard of the salaried workers' houses in Shanghai and Tientsin were far from the dwellings of the working class in Britain. There were no effective sewage or water supply systems. Many houses did not have sanitary installations or even a connection to the nearest sewer.

[4-26] Workers' houses, 1890, architect unknown, Tong Bei Road, Ba Li Tou, Shanghai. (upper) A worker's house, New Gonghe Road, Shanghai. (lower)





In the International Settlement in Shanghai, the workers' estates villages in Hong Kow were located in an unhealthy environment, suffering from industrial pollution, dust and noise. Kitchens were usually tiny and inadequate, without proper provision for waste. There were no toilets in houses, not to speak of bathrooms. The water supply was provided only by a public tap. In 1898, the Municipal Public Health Department was organised by Dr. Stanley, a Scot from Edinburgh. The following Public Health by-law raised the standard of house building in Shanghai to unprecedented heights in terms of construction, water supply, ventilation and sanitation, but it did little to improve the living conditions of the poor.

During these two decades, contact with Western civilisation had greatly expanded the cultural horizon for the Chinese. At the same time, aggressive Western imperialism was intense in China. It was directly responsible for the outbreak of the Boxer Uprising in 1900. The rebellion spread mainly in North China. In Tientsin, the Western-style buildings suffered a great loss in the Boxer movement. The majority of foreign properties in Tientsin were attacked or destroyed by the Boxers. Shanghai escaped narrowly from the rebellion. An agreement was reached between foreign consuls and Chinese local authorities, under which the Chinese authorities promised to prevent the spread of the Boxer rebellion from Shanghai and central provinces. After the end of the Boxer Uprising, the infiltration of Western knowledge has since been a powerful uninterrupted leavening process in China.

□

5

5. Celebration of Commercial Prosperity, 1911—1927

Mannerist Tendency
Monuments of Commerce
Civic Classicism
Rise of Middle-Class Houses

The years between the 1910s and the 1920s witnessed the high period for the British architecture in China. The British settlement in Shanghai and concession in Tientsin benefited from the outside capital that continued to flow into the cities. By the mid-1920s, the great building rush in Shanghai and Tientsin was in full swing. Buildings were erected as shrines to the god of economic prosperity. The monumental classicism of the Edwardian reign was rediscovered and well received in Shanghai and Tientsin. Reconstruction of foreign trading firms and banks was in the ascendant. Various types of classical revival were employed in commercial and civic buildings to commemorate this period of prosperity and confidence. On the other hand, as a reaction against the domination of classicism, different forms with free and non-historicist design produced buildings of great distinction. Steel and concrete frame structures and new constructional technology made possible the construction of larger and higher buildings with changes in space and elevations.

5.1 The Mannerist Tendency

After the 1911 Revolution, China's Republic suffered political confusion with repeated civil wars from 1912 to 1927. However, neither the Chinese revolutions and wars nor the European economic crisis stemmed the development of the British settlement and concession in Shanghai and Tientsin. The cities were booming, and architecture became splendid in appearance and rich in type and style. The period was marked by an evolutionary frame of mind in search of a diversity of manners and of architectural aesthetics. Historicism has remained influential to the present day, but its authority was severely challenged. It was no longer a question of whether a work obeyed established rules. There was a reaction against academicism by using anti-traditional and anti-academic languages, or by stripping off or simplifying classical features and ornaments. The new thought paralleled the commercial prosperity and the development of new materials and structural technology promoted the emancipation of architectural design from academic dogma and towards mannerism and individualism.

This period was started by the establishment of a Western-style state—the Republic of China. In June of 1911, a Frenchman made his last flying performance in Shanghai — both for the Imperial subjects and himself — before plunging down to the ground with his flying machine. Four months later, the Ch'ing kingdom fell

down too. The new-born Republic was unable to maintain control and there followed a long period of internal insurrection and civil wars led by provincial warlords. "Chaos and China have become almost synonymous terms," said John Jordan, the long-time British Minister to China. At the same time, Europe was in the shadow of the war. When the world suffered turmoil, the foreign settlements and concessions in Shanghai and Tientsin enjoyed some of their best years under the umbrella of neutrality. The fighting among warlords and the frequent alternation of reigns affected neither the foreign trade nor the interior river traffic. Refugees from the interior provided cheap labour for the industrial manufacture of Shanghai and Tientsin, while the better-off enriched the cities with their savings

In Shanghai, the city was undergoing the transformation from a largely medieval structure to a modern one. Significantly, this transformation was started by removing the city walls that used to separate the Chinese city from the foreign settlements. Chinese merchants had been demanding the removal of the walls since 1894, when a massive fire had destroyed much of the native city. Finally, the demolition of the walls began in 1912 after the collapse of the Manchu dynasty, which facilitated the transportation of goods between the native city and the foreign settlements, and shifted the city centre towards the foreign settlements. In the period when European stability became fragile because of the War, the young Chinese bourgeoisie began to spring into action. These wartime years formed the golden age of the Chinese bourgeoisie. In spite of the European War, the

building of Western-style architecture in Shanghai continued with the development of Chinese westernisation and capitalism.

The European Powers had recently stabilised their positions in the semi-colonial treaty ports. After the First World War there was no real alternative to the foreign powers and their special rights in China. At the Washington Conference of 1921—1922, China's demand for full sovereignty was left aside, because the Western powers did not want any change in the status of their foreign rights and interests in China. The foreign population in Shanghai and Tientsin increased because China seemed to offer greater scope than did Europe.

Foreign economic activity within China reached a high phase. British exports to China increased from £15 million in 1913 to almost £21 million in 1919 and to over £43 million in 1920. In 1923, according to the Chinese Maritime Customs, there were 228 British, 165 American, 70 German, 63 French 56 Russian and 1,047 Japanese firms in Shanghai and over a hundred other firms in Tientsin. This economic boom in Shanghai and Tientsin needed architects to record their economic success. It was a fertile period for Shanghai and Tientsin in the field of architecture. Land prices were driven up. The Land Investment Company saw its net profits in Shanghai rise 145 per cent between 1924 and 1928. New architectural functions, new structure and materials also desired a change in architectural forms.

During this period, an important force in the promotion of architectural development and flourishing of architectural art was the growth of the architectural profession. In Shanghai, by the end of 1927 there were about fifty foreign practices of architects registering with the Public Works Department of the Shanghai International Settlement.[1] In this period, almost all architectural projects were dominated by foreign architects. Among the most active British firms were Palmer & Turner, R. B. Moorhead & Comany, and Atkinson & Dallas.

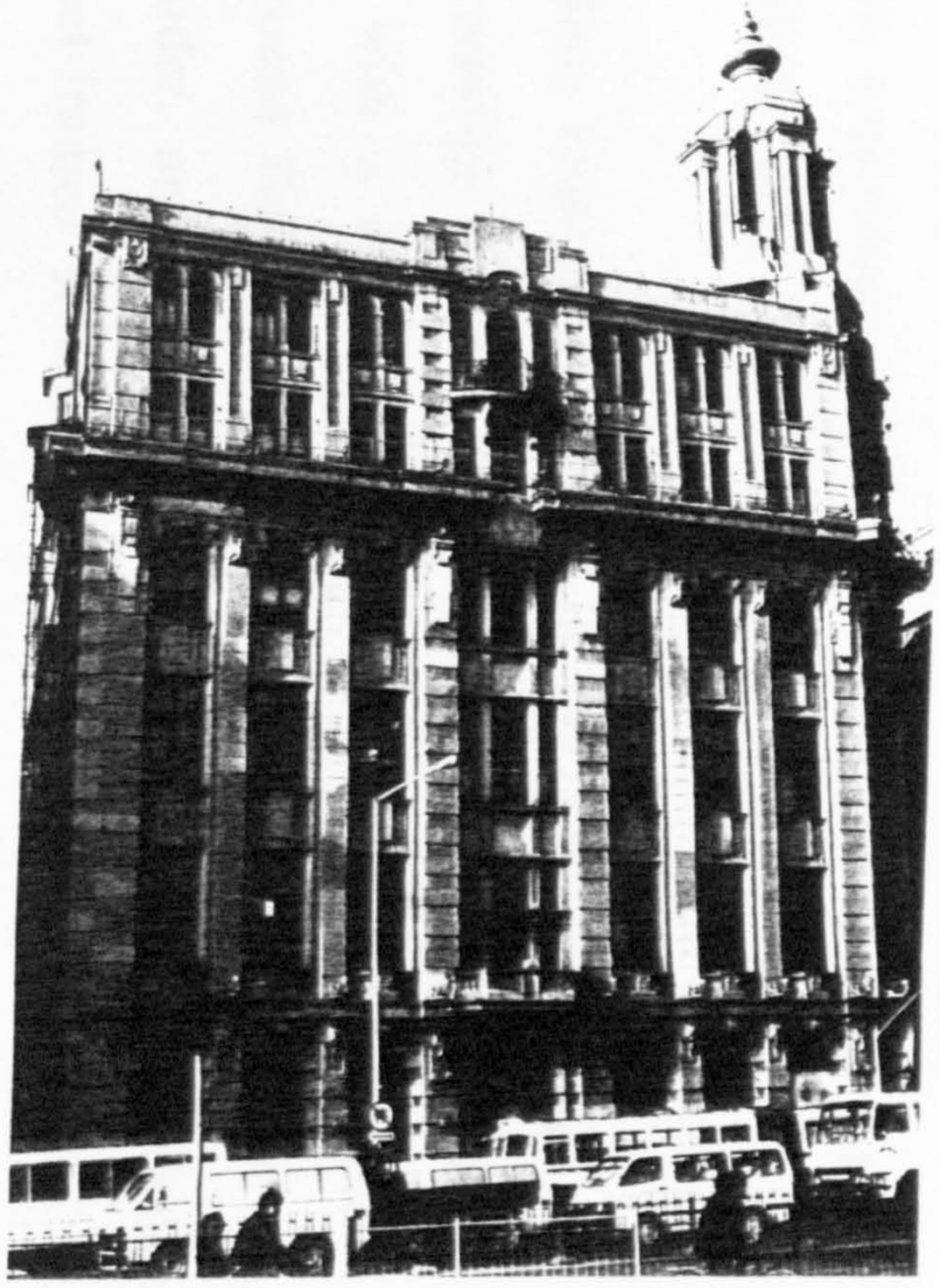
The architectural firm for many prestigious buildings in Shanghai was Palmer & Turner. The firm might not be the greatest of the period, but it was the most representative. It had a very large practice at the time. It was a Hongkong-based British architectural firm, founded in 1868, which established a branch office in Shanghai in 1911. In fact, when the Shanghai office opened, C. Palmer and Arthur Turner had retired from the firm. The architect in charge of the Shanghai office was G. L. Wilson, who was in his thirties. As things turned out, the Shanghai office of Palmer & Turner was a good move. There were so many projects to keep an office busy that the Shanghai office eventually took over the Hong Kong headquarters. Like Palmer & Turner, many other British architectural practices shared the opportunities and enjoyed the prosperity of the city, and contributed diverse styles of architecture.

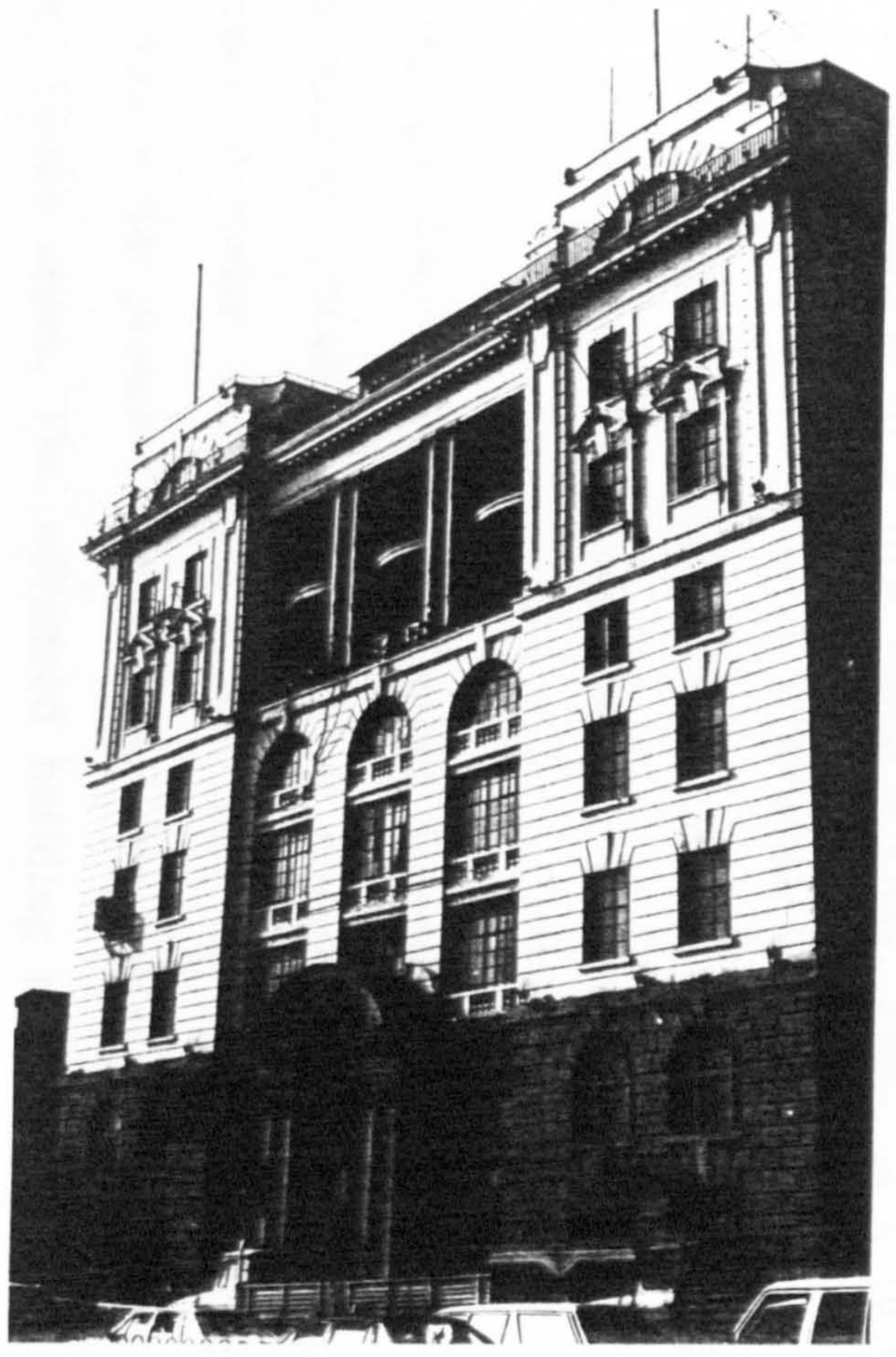
The influences of French classicism had hardly appeared in China's British buildings before the 1910s, because it was

spurned by the Baroque classical revival in the 1890s. But after 1910 there was a steady move towards the Beaux-Arts classical style in British architecture, when the versions of the French architecture spread throughout Europe after the Paris Exhibition of 1900. It was due to the new arrival of young British architects who had received a Beaux-Arts education in British architectural schools.

The Union Building is the first one of many examples by Palmer & Turner of the French manner that they would introduce to Shanghai. [5-1] Built in 1912, the Union Building is in many ways a combination of Mewes & Davis's Inveresk House (1906—07) and Charles Holden's Evelyn House (1908—10), London. It is also the earliest steel-framed structure in Shanghai. The facade is inscribed with a vigorous rhythm of piers by setting spandrels and windows back from the front, expressing the structure of the building. It looked like a hotel in Paris or Edwardian London.

Its Baroque tower with the noticeable Byzantine ogee dome is a typical British treatment, since English Baroque elements were often added to French classical buildings. Although asymmetrical on the principle façade, the tower creates the essential hinge between the Bund and Canton Road elevations. It is a remarkable example of the balanced asymmetrical street frontage in the root of E. Godwin's designs. The elevational treatment of the later addition of the two storeys tried to extend the vertical rhythm. The building now houses the Shanghai Design Company of Civil Architecture.





[5-1] Union Building, 1912, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Designing Company of Civil Architecture, 17 Guang Dong Road, Shanghai. (left)
[5-2] Asiatic Petroleum Company, 1916, by R. B. Moorhead, now Shanghai Research Institute of Metallurgy, 1 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (right)

Different forms of plan and elevation as well as external decoration could now be chosen for the same type of buildings. The Asiatic Petroleum Company [5-2] on the corner of the Bund and Avenue Edward VII was built in 1916, originally for McBain & Company. R. E. Moorhead, the architect, made a lively asymmetrical composition in a free Baroque style. There is a two-storeyed monumental portico with a triumphal arch, a central arcaded section through three storeys, and, at the top, a loggia of two storeys with coupled Ionic columns.

The steel-framed structure provided more freedom in interior space than masonry structure, and made it possible to change the heavy manner of earlier buildings. It also met the need for more storeys to utilise the precious ground, and for larger windows to light deeper office areas. The advanced building technology and materials greatly extended the architects' creative capabilities. This led to an intriguing version of classical architecture. Examples of this experiment can be found in the Brunner Mone building, Shanghai. [5-3]

The Brunner Mone building was built in 1922, in which the necessity of a prestige building produced a combination of a stone frontage with a steel-framed structure. The building has the classical ground floor including a mezzanine and three levels with a giant order, and the walls were consciously non-structural to clothe a steel-framed building. The Corinthian pilasters are set forward from the three intermediate floors that are concealed by

[5-3] Brunner Mond Company, 1922, architect unknown, now Shanghai *Xinhua* Bookshop, 133 Central Si Cuan Road, Shanghai. (left)
[5-4] Glen Line Building, 1921—2, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai People's Broadcasting Bureau, 2 East Beijing Road, Shanghai. (right)

metal spandrels. Stone lions used to decorate the entrance and entresol floor, a sculptural addition rarely employed in the British buildings in China, were smashed out in the Great Cultural Revolution of the 1960s. The colossal frame on the central facade is the mannerist fantasy: two engaged Corinthian columns carried on by corbels above the entrance, rising three floors and supporting a pediment that was decorated with Greek anthemion and lion sculptures. It comprised the strangest mannerist design for the Shanghai commercial world in the 1920s.

Palmer & Turner's Glen Line Building [5-4] is also a mannerist expression for a large urban edifice, and a solution to the emerging conflict between the use of historical style and the need for more storeys. The architects avoid using the classical orders and the conventions of orthodox principles, adapting its features to current needs with varying degrees of freedom and originality. It is a massive quadrangular block with a reinforced concrete frame, relieved by vertical oriel windows and a stepped pyramid.

Another neo-mannerist example, the P & O Shipping Corporation building, was built in 1921. [5-5] Its steel frame is expressed on the exterior by the vertical emphasis of bay windows and by the elongated ground-level arches. The piers are decorated with pendants and ear-like ornaments, the latter of which perhaps are degenerated, or developed, from the volutes. Two pavilions are topped by broken pediments with overlapping swags and keystones. The architect broke away from the classical tradition and used classical elements in an iconoclastic and mannerist way

[5-5] P & O Shipping Corporation, 1921, architect unknown, now Shanghai Administrative Bureau of Ocean Shipping, 6 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (left)
[5-6] Shen Pao Building, 1918, British architect unknown, now the Jiefang Daily Building, 309 Han Kou Road, Shanghai. (right)

as Belcher and Joass had done in their treatment of the Mappin House (1906—08) and the Royal Insurance Building (1907—08), London.

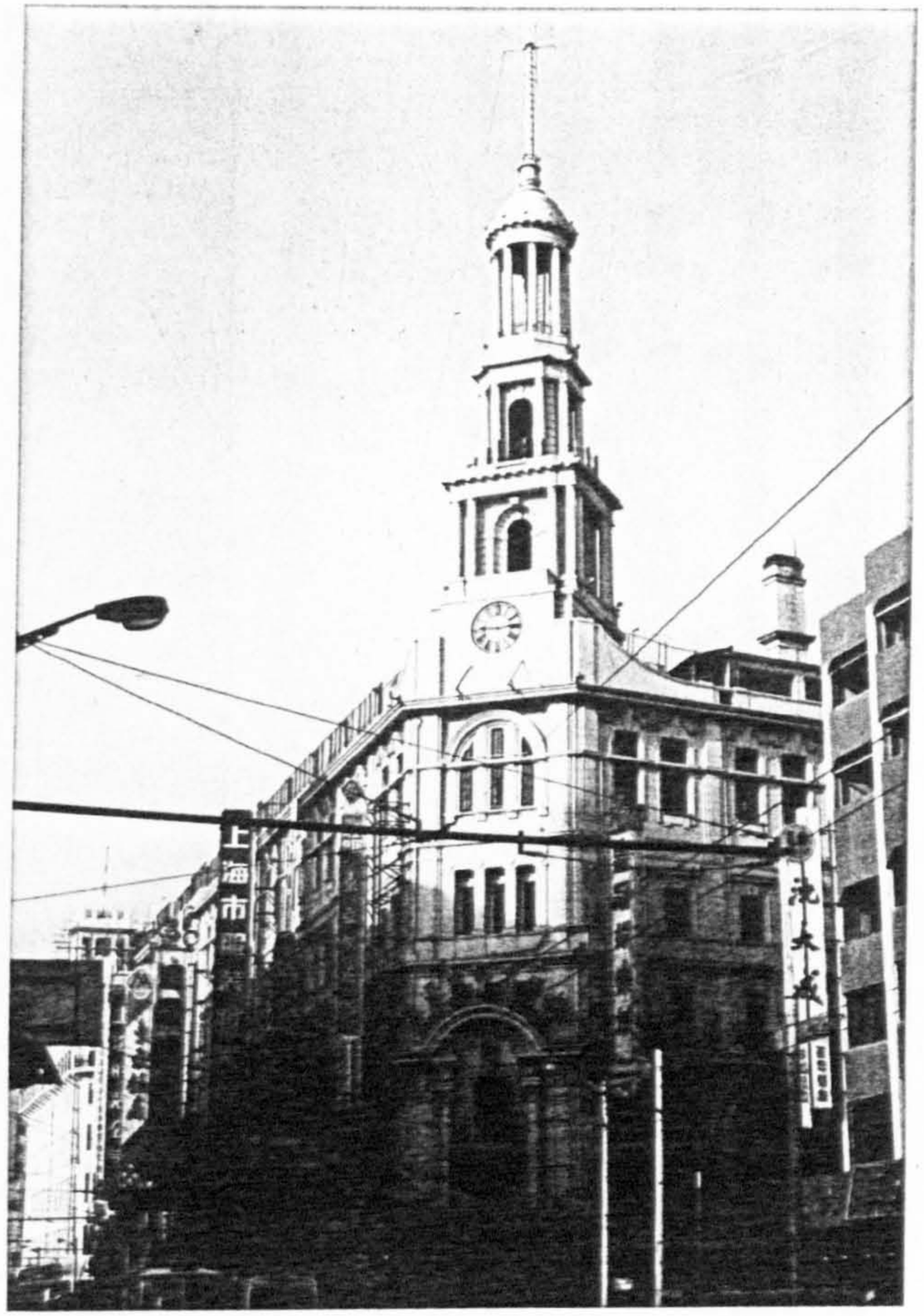
The use of the steel-framed structure also produced a couple of rationalist buildings that clearly expressed their interior frame construction in their elevations. In this respect, the most notable architectural design by far in British Shanghai was the new Shen Pao Building, built in 1918. [5-6] *Shen Pao* was one of the earliest newspapers in China, founded by an Englishman in 1872, and taken over by Chinese in 1907. The architectural design achieved an impressive functional expression of the underlying steel frame by the grid walls of thin and narrow pilasters and spandrels. It simplified the elevation by the elimination of most decorative features, but the design was still articulated by such classical motifs as balconies, bracketed cornices, and Corinthian capitals. This experiment with rationalism in the Shen Pao building closely recalls John Burnet's Kodak House, now the Gallagher Building in London (1910—11). The extension of the Shen Pao building in 1924 moved further towards rationalism without any classical decoration.

It, however, would be a mistake to suppose that rationalist architecture was approaching Shanghai with the Shen Pao Building. Another newspaper office building, the *North China Daily News* building was an immediate reaction against this tendency. [5-7] This nine-storeyed newspaper office building was designed by Lester, Johnson & Morris in 1921. The *North China*

Daily News was a famous and influential foreign newspaper in China since it was founded in 1854, as a mirror of British opinions. It claimed to be an "independent and impartial voice to reflect unofficial British treaty port opinion", but was in fact the voice of the Shanghai taipans, and its architectural taste was little different from the commercial palaces in the Bund. The building is an example of a modern structure in a classical garb. The ground floor is marked by imposing Doric columns and rusticated base. Sandwiched between the classical crown and base, the shaft has simpler fenestration with only sills, and the flat roof implies a modern structure. The heavy cornice is counteracted by two corner domed pavilions and a loggia on the attic storey.

A large urban development related to the modern shopping centre was Sincere's in Nanking Road, Shanghai, [5-8] designed by Johnson in 1915. The department store company was founded by Ma Ying-piao with $25,000 in Hong Kong in 1900. It was not until 1914 that the Sincere Company opened its second branch in Shanghai following the opening of a branch in Canton. It was as adventurous as its British equivalents of the same period, such as Harrods (1905), Arding and Hobbs (1910) in London. Sincere's was impressive in Shanghai for its sheer dimensions and classical splendour. In size of staff and building, Sincere's outshone the foreign stores in Shanghai like Hall & Holtz, Week & Company, Whiteaway, Laidlaw and Lane Crawford, which was previously the largest department store in Shanghai, and even in China.

The architect of Sincere's brought all his knowledge of



[5-7] North China daily News Building, 1921—24, by Herry Lester, now Guilin Building, 17 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (left)
[5-8] Sincere's Department Store, 1915, by Johnson, now Shanghai Fashion Company, 650 East Nanking Road, Shanghai. (right)

architecture and technology to bear on the building. Besides department stores, the complex also includes hotels, restaurants, theatres, amusement clubs and roof gardens. It is much less stylish in layout and provides a plan of total simplicity with seven storeys of clear floor space. The style of exterior is French in flavour. The ground-floor arcades are rusticated and decorated with Baroque motifs; a piano nobile is honoured by two-level arched openings and balconies; the grand bevel corner is set off by a Baroque broken pediment, and ornamented strangely with a public clock; on the top is a three-fold tower in the manner of Wren's town hall to convey a soaring dynamism. It also gave an early example of an arcaded shopping street.

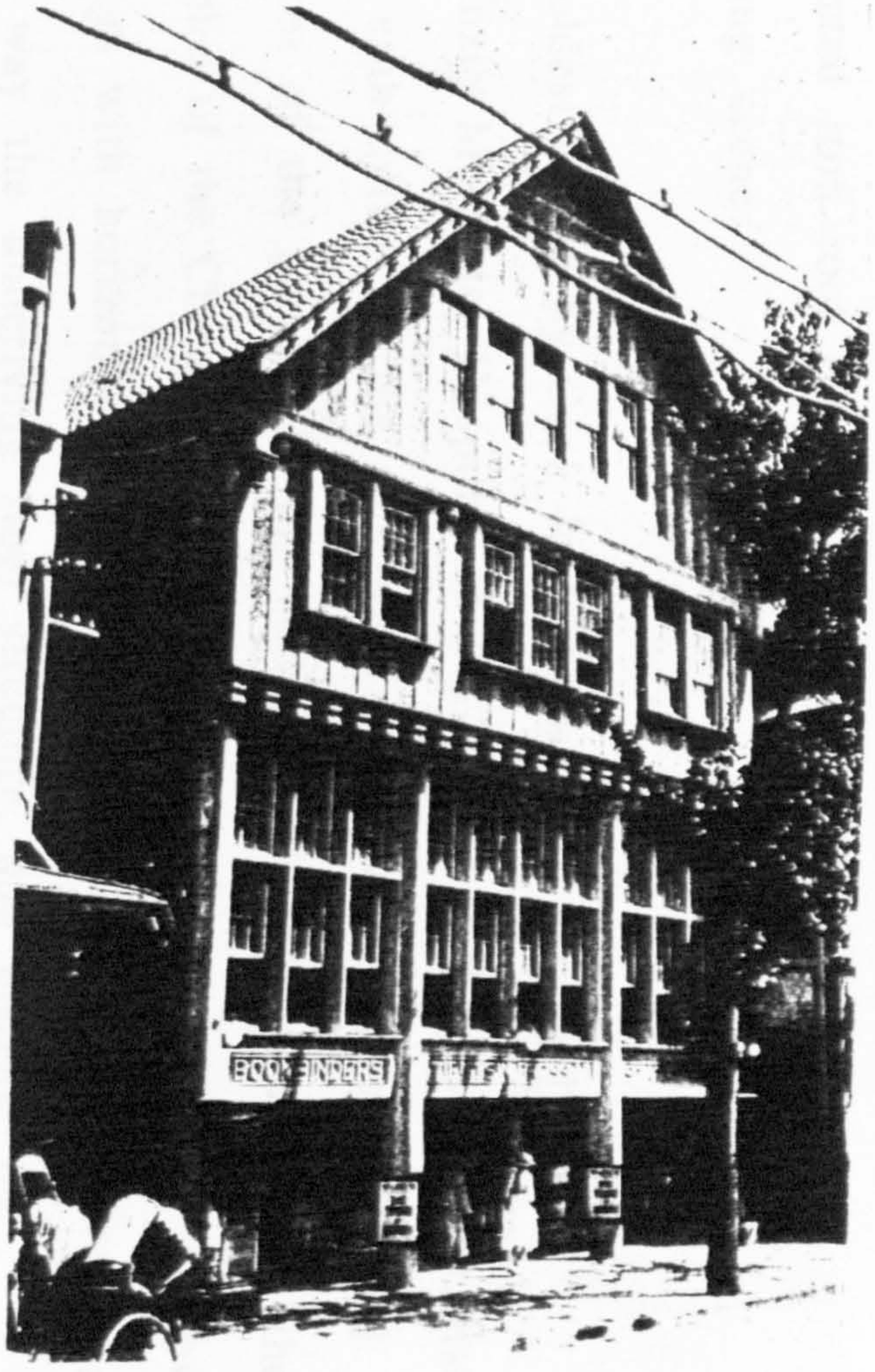
In 1918 another imposing department store, Wing On, was opened by Kuo brothers in Nanking Road, face to face with Sincere's. Both Sincere's and Wing On were from Australia where Ma and Kuo brothers had first made their money. The two department stores are still the commercial centres in Shanghai, but the latter is now disfigured by the addition of a glass curtain wall.

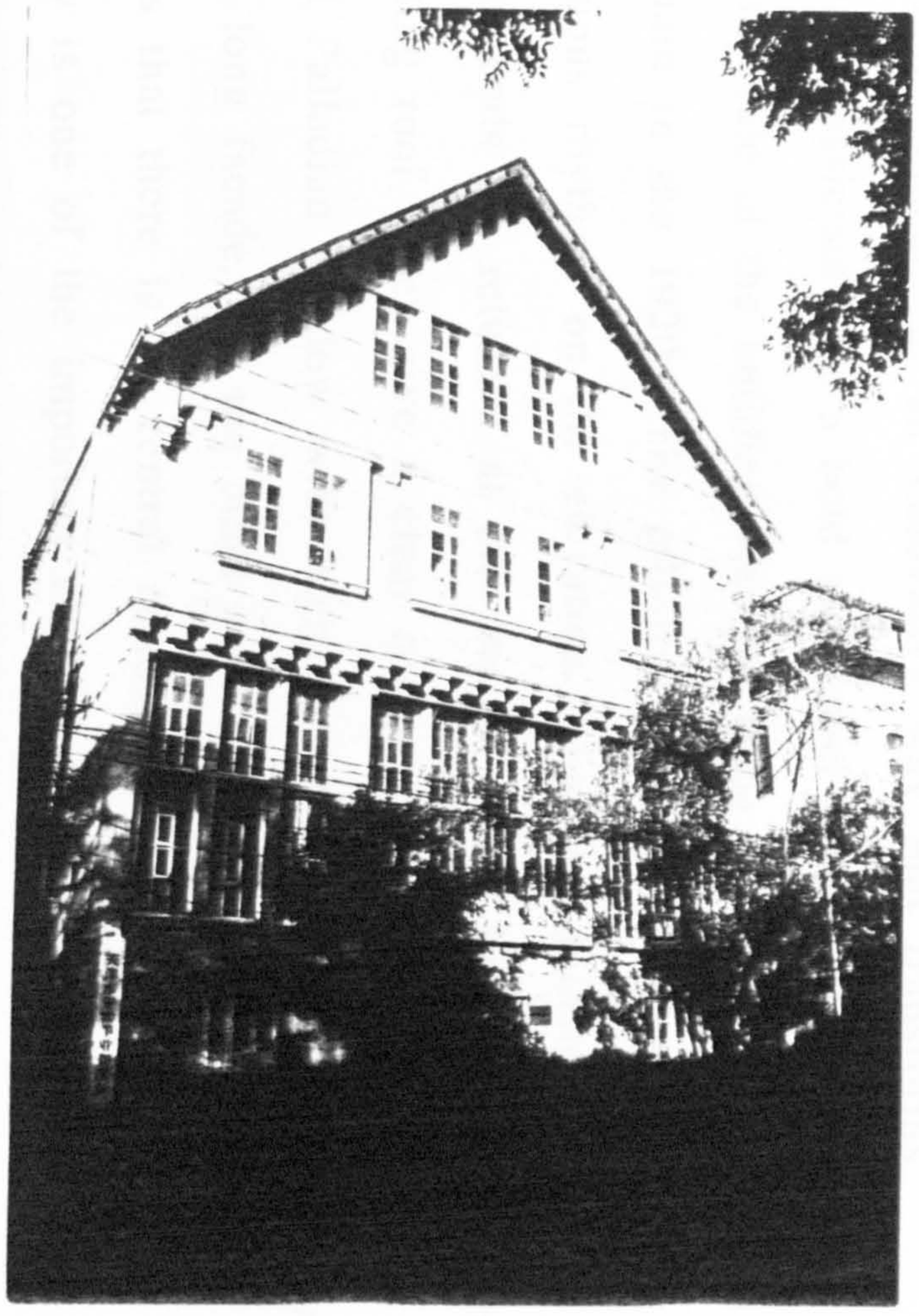
In Tientsin, Cook & Anderson, an Anglo-Scottish architectural firm, was experimenting with a middle path to Free Style architecture, making use of historical elements, but free of copyism. Samuel Edwin Cook studied architecture in London, while Henry Anderson received his architectural qualification in Edinburgh. They came to China in the early twentieth century. Their firm was founded in Tientsin in 1913 or thereabouts. The

Tientsin Press building shows their early co-operation in the experiment with free style that was predicated on British Arts and Crafts architecture when confronted with a commercial building in an urban situation. [5-9]

The building is a free version of particular historical styles. The building housed offices on the top two floors, two storeys of workshops on the middle and a book shop on the ground floor with a street arcade in the front. With historicism rejected and vernacular modes patently inappropriate, the architects compromised with Jacobethan or cottage vernacular and German features, the former in such details as the Elizabethan grid in the workshop elevation, the sash windows and the trip patterns in the gable; the latter in the sweeping roof with stepped-out sections set on beam ends, which recalls the traditional timbered house in the Hanover region in Germany. The square type-face of the shop-sign also recalled German style of the 1910s. German architectural references were possible, since the owner of the company, Gustav Detring, was German in origin. He was also chairman of the Municipal Council of the British Concession in Tientsin.

The Tientsin Press building was the first large free-style building in Tientsin. The Tientsin Press was founded in 1891, and published the first English and Chinese newspapers in North China. The building now houses the Administrative Bureau of the Tobacco Monopoly. The frontage of the building is changed: the street arcade is enclosed for offices, and sash windows are





[5-9] Tientsin Press, 1910s, by Cook & Anderson, now the Administrative Bureau of the Tobacco Monopoly, North Jiefang Road, Tientsin. Photographed in the 1920s (left) and 1991 (right)

replaced by casement windows and fixed windows. In spite of these subsequent alterations, it is still a notable building in Tientsin.

Cook and Anderson's experiment with free style design was pursued further in Whiteaway's Store. [5-10] They used traditional elements in an innovative way that transforms Georgian classicism into a bold and novel commercial form. The size and scale of the building was the same as those of old stores in Britain in the 1920s. The pilasters between windows form continuous rhythms on the elevation. The twin-pilasters at the external ends are returned at the angles of the building. The deep projecting roof eaves give a clear and strong silhouette. The central Palladian window with higher roof line forms the fulcrum of the long facade, but the blind arch of the Palladian window implies that there is no central entrance beneath. The glass canopy is one of the important characteristics of British shop buildings. The red-brick middle-sized shop building with the red corrugated iron roof produce a warm and old-fashionable shopping scene.

The boldest design by Cook & Anderson was for the Dr. Mackenzie Memorial Hospital. [5-11] It was a massive, rationalist work, embodying all the functional, structural and architectural advances of the period. In the building, the architects applied the principles of the Chicago School design. The large and flat window openings with horizontal concrete lintels and sills underscore in a direct way the underlying steel structure, and provide the

[5-10] Whiteaway, Laidlaw, 1920s, by Cook & Anderson, now China Medical Corporation, North Jiefang Road, Tientsin. (upper)

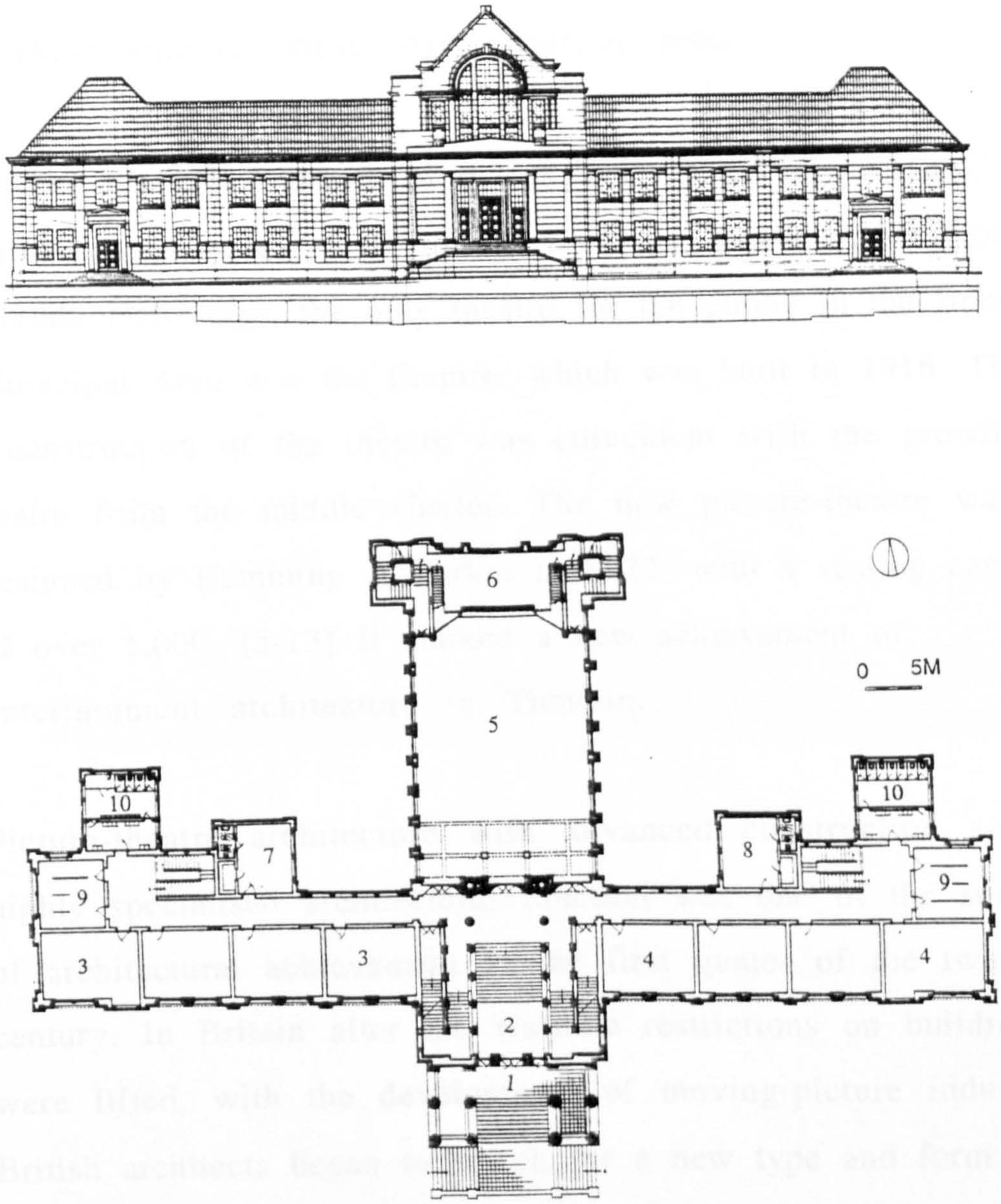
[5-11] Dr. Mackenzie Memorial Hospital, 1920—24, by Cook & Anderson, now Tientsin Dental Hospital, 87 North Dagu Road, Tientsin. (lower)

patients' rooms with as much light and air as possible. The ornaments were pared down to a minimum, but not to the point of absolute plainness. Brick is used as the major material of the elevations, even at street level. The roof is flat. It was unusual in British architecture at the time to express the steel frame unambiguously in its elevation. The building follows a U-shaped plan, surrounding an open space facing the main street.

It is interesting to see the Beaux-Arts classical style first appear in Cook & Anderson's design for the Tientsin Grammar School. [5-12] The school was built in 1926, and was intended primarily for the education of foreign children despite a few Chinese children. The building was capable of accommodating about 500 pupils. In 1938 the total attendance was 250 pupils of twenty-nine nationalities, of whom 112 were British children. The school site and playing fields covered an area of eight acres. According to their previous designs from the free style Tientsin Press to the rational Mackenzie Hospital, Cook and Anderson's design might have approached contemporary school buildings like Gropius's Bauhaus in Dessau (1925—26), or at least, Mackintosh's Glasgow School of Art (1907—09), but they did not take such steps forward.

The architects used classical form in a symmetric design. The two-storeyed building is based on a T-shaped plan with a projecting central portico and separated entrances for boys and girls. The Grammar School has a long facade with Doric pilasters and mansard roof. Through its innate sense of proportion and

[5-12] Tientsin Grammar School, 1926, by Cook & Anderson, now Tientsin No.20 High School, Hu Bei Road, Tientsin.



GROUND FLOOR

1 PORCH
2 ENTRANCE HALL
3 BOYS' CLASSROOM
4 GIRL'S CLASSROOM
5 LECTURE HALL
6 STAGE
7 MALE TEATERS
8 FEMALE TEACHERS
9 CLOAK ROOM
10 W C

simplicity, the building provides the monumentality. Typical of the architects' individual architectural language is the high sweep gable with a colossal Venetian opening, which is set above the central portico, giving the building mannerist motifs and breaking with the Beaux-Arts academic rules.

Despite the urban growth of the Tientsin British Concession, its public entertainment and cultural life was sparse. Apart from the Gordon Hall stage, the only theatre for the public in the British Municipal Area was the Empire, which was built in 1916. The reconstruction of the theatre was coincident with the growing desire from the middle classes. The new picture-theatre was designed by Hemming & Parkin in 1922, with a seating capacity of over 1,000. [5-13] It marked a new achievement of entertainment architecture in Tientsin.

Picture-theatre architecture with advanced construction and highly specialised architectural function was one of the summits of architectural achievement in the first quater of the twentieth century. In Britain after the wartime restrictions on building were lifted, with the development of moving-picture industry, British architects began to search for a new type and form for the picture-theatre. Hemming & Parkin's design was a good experiment with the modern theatre so that their design was published in the *Builder* in 1923, the most influential British architectural journal at the time. It was not usual for an unknown colonial firm to be brought to the notice of the British architectural press at home.

[5-13] Empire Theatre, 1922, by Hemming & Parkin, now Music Hall, 30 Zhe Jiang Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[5-14] Tientsin Country Club, 1925, by Hemming & Parkin, now Tientsin Friendship Club, Machang Road, Tientsin. (lower)

The architects, Hemming & Parkin took their ideas from the traditional European theatre and music hall of the late nineteenth century. In contrast, the English cinema architects were more interested in exotic motifs, such as the Egyptian style in John Burnet's cinema inside Adelaide House, London (1921—24), and the Chinese style in George Coles's Palace, London (1929).

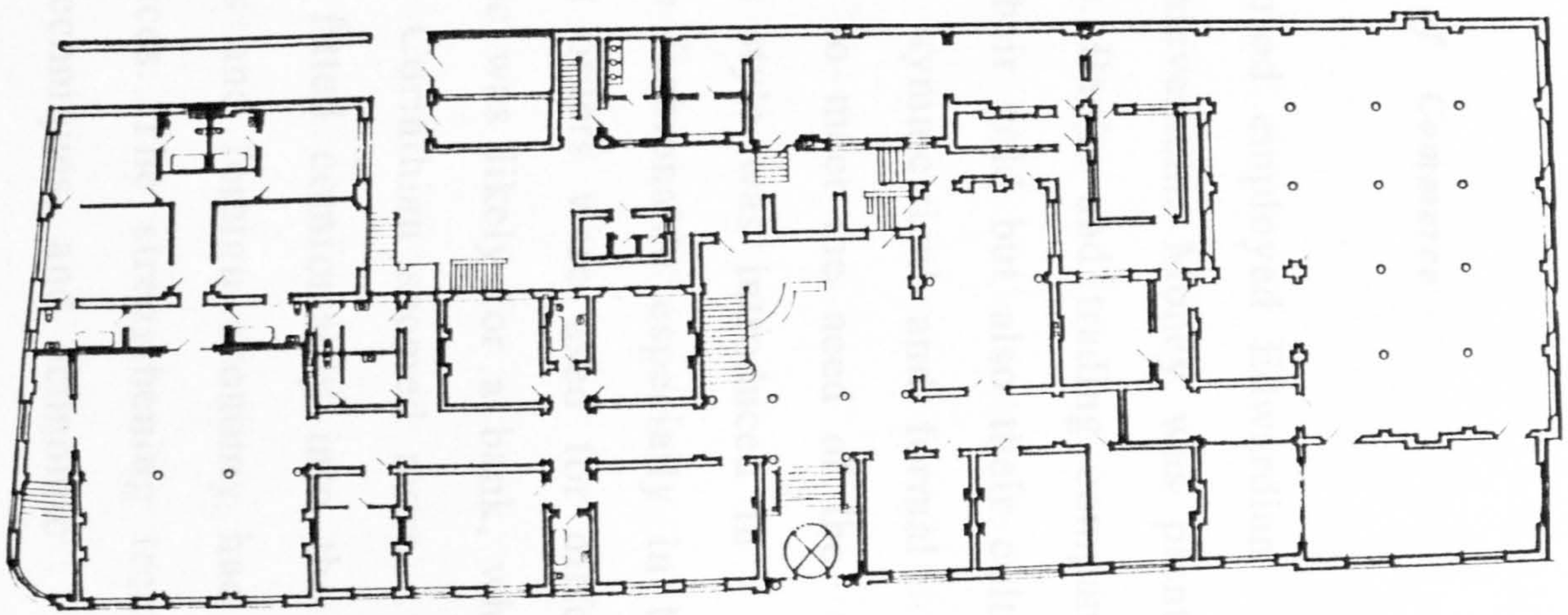
Hemming & Parkin's design is an elegant Parisian frontage with simplified classical details. The main entrance has a semi-circular porch with doubled Doric columns. The roof is hinted behind high parapets. The side hall projects to form a small plaza in the front of the theatre. It was an extension of the main hall, and was also able to be used separately as a bar. There is a well-planned auditorium with good projection and lines of vision. Although a one-storeyed auditorium was thought adequate for an audience of under 1,500 people, the architects adopted the double-storeyed auditorium, which secures more seats within the limit of the lot area.

Another important recreation architecture in Tientsin designed by Hemming & Parkin is the Tientsin Country Club, 1925. [5-14] The design is a far wilder version of the classical domestic revival in the club building, which is an architectural cross between a private house and a public building. The elevation is a sophisticated composition of Arts and Crafts classicism. The booking office is dressed in mock Tudor style. Hemming & Parkin's design represented an attempt of convincing integrity to produce a comfortable building in a modern adaptation of a

traditional English style. Some details implying Chinese sources can be seen suddenly here or there. The building was used as a club after the British left. Its beautiful jardin anglais gardens are replaced in 1982 by the later alteration of Chinese classical gardens.

Hotels in the large treaty port cities in the inter-war period profited from the rise of commercial travellers. The British hotel building was usually modest in size and French in manner. A typical example was the Imperial Hotel, Tientsin, built in 1922. [5-15] The architects, Atkinson & Dallas, provided a suitably neo-classical design to convey to the travelling public the prestige and comfort of the hotel. The long elevation gave the hotel an impression of horizontally reinforced cornices and balusters. Owing to the limit of the lot area, the central section and end pavilions are on the same level as the rest of the facade, marked only by pediments. The promenade and plastered dining rooms were keystones of the hotel at the time. Located in the French Concession, the building was in harmony with its neighbours, and was rebuilt after the earthquake of 1976.

The British architects in Shanghai and Tientsin in general followed the tastes of their contemporaries in Britain. Although separated by oceans and continents, the British architects had a closer tie with Britain than ever before thanks to modern means of communication and the influx of newcomers from Britain. The stylistic ingredients were basically those from the diet of Edwardian architecture. During this period, educated architects



[5-15] Imperial Hotel 1922, by Atkinson & Dallas, now Tientsin Knit Goods Supply Department, rebuilt in 1980, 4 North Jiefang Road, Tientsin.

became the backbone of the architectural profession in China, but by then there was not any organisation of foreign architects or any local architectural magazine. The essential characteristics reflected in their designs were of international Beaux-Arts classicism, but their individual designs were certainly distinguished.

5.2 Monuments of Commerce

The architectural image of this period employed Edwardian classicism to mark commercial achievement. Money was plentiful in Shanghai and Tientsin for years. Banks and trading companies were pleased to display not only their gold but also their cultural tastes. Monumental buildings with symmetrical and formal compositions were easily adaptable to meet the need of the commercial world. The Beaux-Arts style was introduced in Shanghai and Tientsin and became fashionable especially in bank buildings. Very often the different orders were used for different types of buildings: the solemn Ionic was likely for a bank, while for a trading company, the ornate Corinthian seemed more suitable. The British businessmen fitted comfortably into the treaty ports where Chinese politics and foreign economy had been reconciled to Western practices. The strengthening treaty system, the renewal of building techniques, and economic expansion gave commercial architecture its confident aspect. Many grand edifices that we can see today are the mementos of this opulent time.

The Shanghai International Settlement reflected a new vision of the place of China in the world and of the role of foreigners in China. After the 1911 Revolution and the May Fourth Movement of 1919, Shanghai offered ideal conditions for the development of its capitalist economy. Even in the First World War and the May Thirtieth Movement of 1925 against the British and Japanese, Shanghai did not cease its development, increasing its population and strengthening its economic power, political and cultural influences. The foreign Consular Body at Shanghai took over the control of the Mixed Court in the chaos of the overthrow of the Ch'ing regimes. With an independent administration, police and now, judiciary, the Shanghai International Settlement seemed to be a state within the state. The Bund on the Whangpoo became a gallery of the commercial growth of the International Settlement and foreign Shanghai, where were located the offices of leading trading firms and international banks. They represented some of the most magnificent examples of Western architecture at the time.

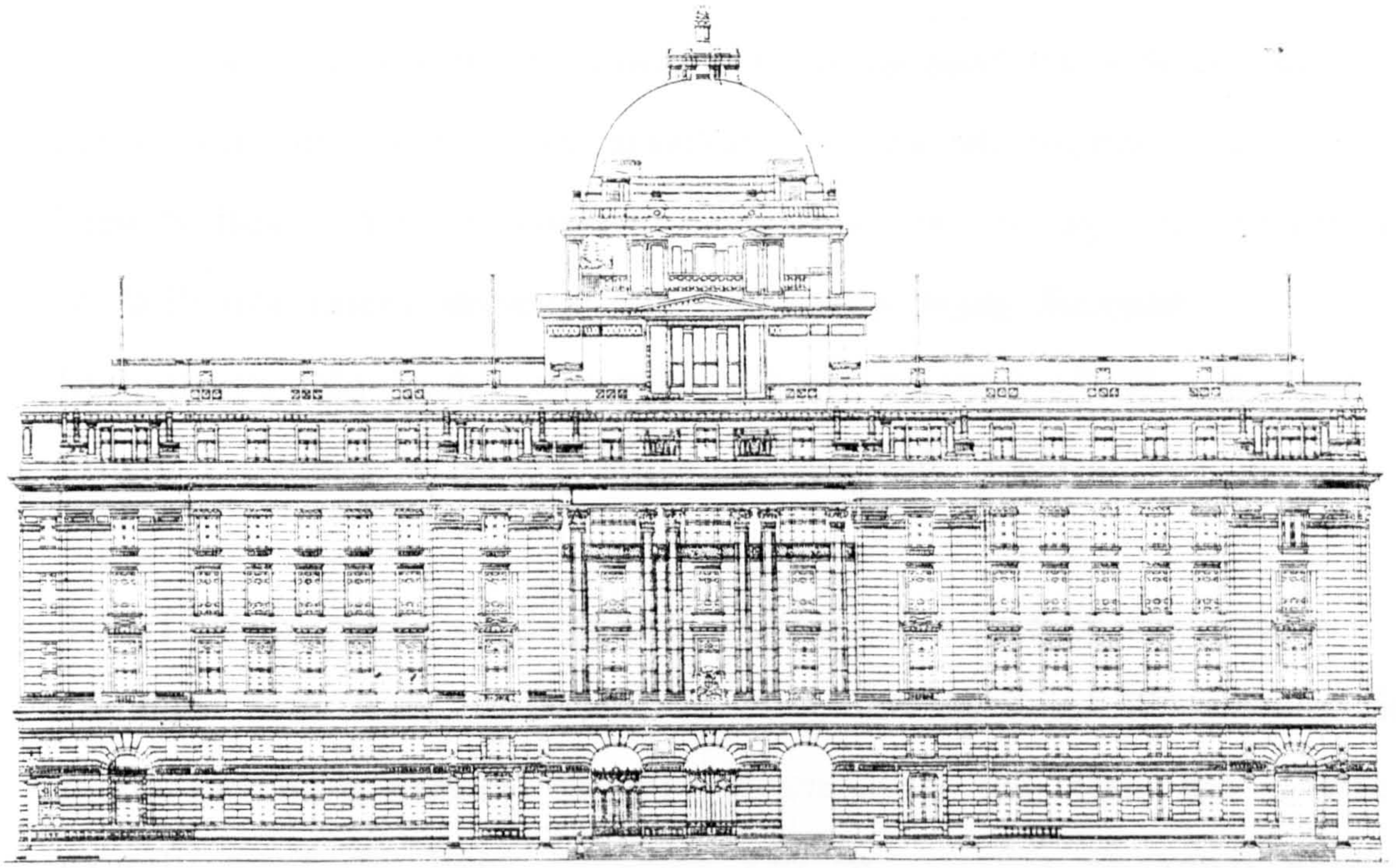
From the second decade of the twentieth century, the old trading and banking companies began to rebuild and extend their offices and influences. Banks and trading firms, such as the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation and Jardine, Matheson & Company, constructed imposing neo-classical palazzos to display their wealth and confirm their roles as the centres of the treaty ports. The new building of the Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation in 1923 was the most sensational example of

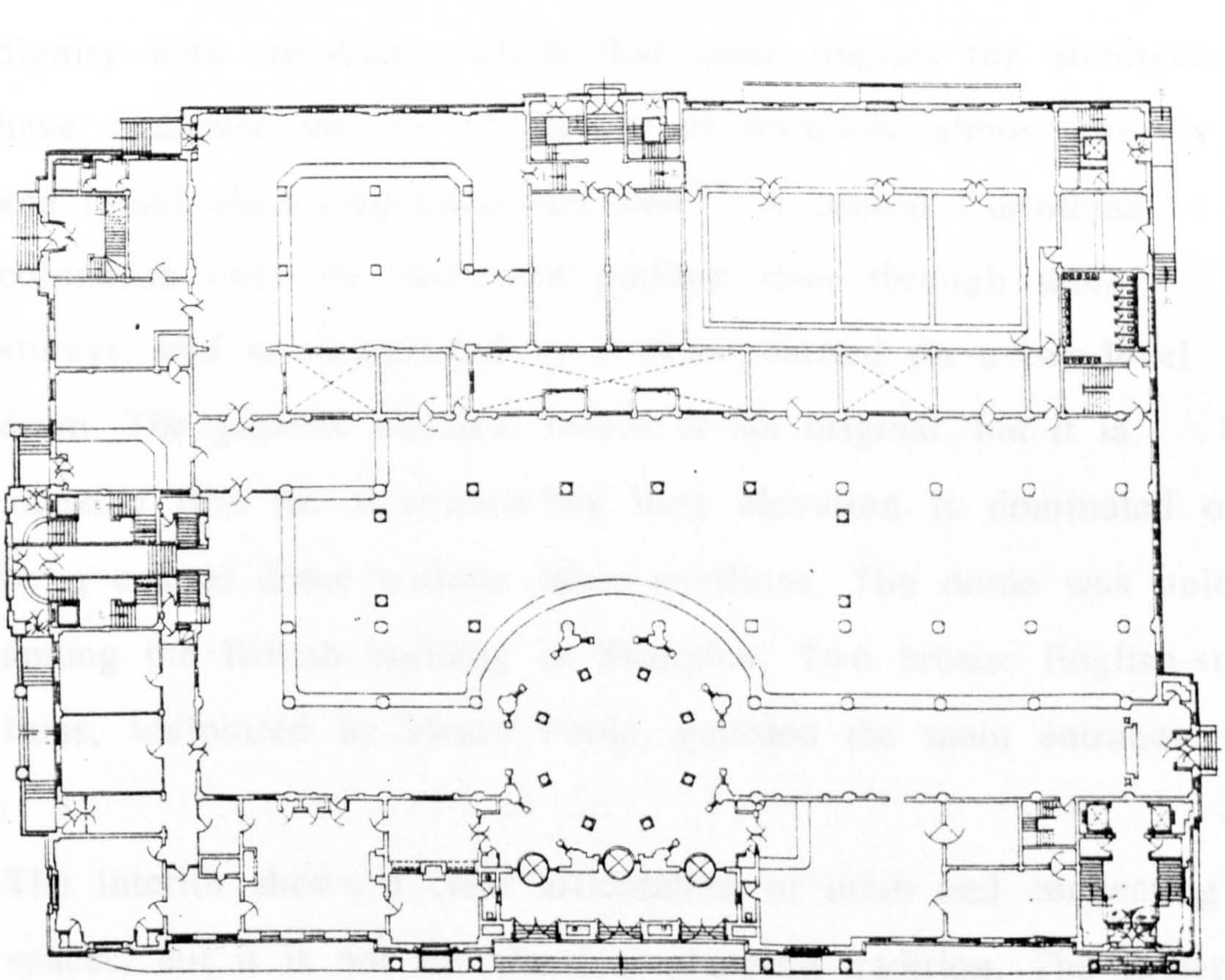
monumental commercialism among the British buildings in China. [5-16] The Bank is a colonial-born institution, a transplant of "Scottish banking principles" of the mid-nineteenth century to the Far East. The Bank held an exalted position in China virtually since the day it was founded in 1865. The Hongkong & Shanghai Bank was not only an economic empire, but also played the important role as "an arm of European diplomacy"[2].

In October 1919, just after the European War, the Bank's board of directors decided to commission Palmer & Turner to design a new bank building of Shanghai. The contractor was Trollope & Colls, a British building firm from London. The project was estimated to cost 850,000 silver dollars.[3] When the architect suggested an addition of a million dollars, the response from the chief manager of the bank appeared equally appropriate as the British motto for Shanghai, "Spare no expense but dominate the Bund"[4].

It was the largest commercial commission in Shanghai after the First World War. G. L. Wilson, the chief architect of Palmer & Turner's Shanghai office, got this chance of a life-time to build a building regardless of cost. The architectural firm had experience in designing the classical Banque de l'Indo-China (1911) [5-17] and Mercantile Bank of India (1916) in Shanghai, the former being the first bank building applied much classical orders on a large scale. The architectural firm had already established a solid relationship with the Bank since 1886, having designed its Hong Kong bank building, which was designed by Clement Palmer in Soane's mould of classicism.

[5-16] Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation, 1921-3, by G. L. Wilson, now People's Municipal Government of Shanghai, 11 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.





Wilson's design for the Shanghai office of the Bank continued the classical tradition of European institution buildings between the two wars. The resulting building is dominated by Edwardian classicism, and is a heavy amalgam of English Baroque and French Beaux-Arts classicism. It was a convincing demonstration of Wilson's talent drawing on inspiration from Edward Mountfort's Old Bailey Criminal Courts, London (1900—06) and Edwin Lutyens's Viceroy's House, New Delhi (1912—31).

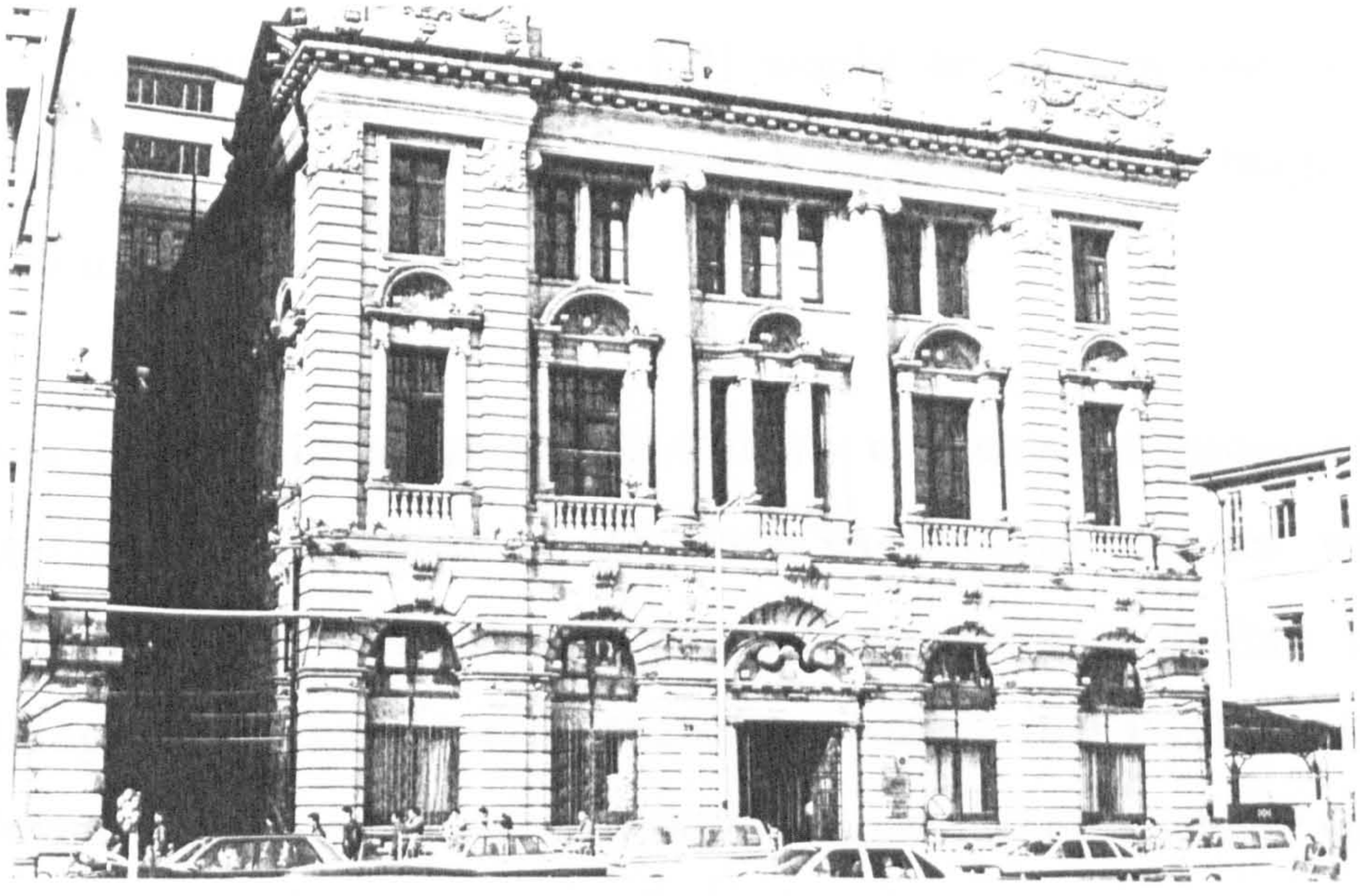
The five-storeyed, steel-framed building is clothed by stone frontage with solid lines and spacious proportions. Wilson's choice might not have pleased the British critics at the time, but it was exactly what the Bank expected and the foreign Shanghai needed. The building is in the chaste but grand Neo-Greek "to achieve the dignity with simplicity, which that name implies the architects have eschewed the use of carving or sculpture almost entirely and relied upon proportion and line."[5] A central Corinthian colonnade over the rusticated podium rises through three storeys, and is surmounted by a dome carried on a two-level drum. The gigantic classical facade is not original, but it is amazing that the seventeen-bay long elevation is dominated only by a central dome without other pavilions. The dome was unique among the British building in Shanghai. Two bronze English-style lions, sculptured by Henry Poole, guarded the main entrance.

The interior shows a clear articulation of main and connecting spaces, but it is not the classical planning tradition. The skeletal

steel frame made possible the combination of the irregular interior layout and a symmetrical elevation. The space of the banking hall flowed through the octagonal entrance hall to form an associated and spacious open space, occupying half the ground floor. The entrance hall was a brilliant pantheon consecrated to Mercury, the god of commerce.Its space is defined, but not closed, by eight Ionic columns of Siena marble and arched doorways behind. The vertically continuous space of the entrance hall reaches its climax in an octagonal dome, which is richly decorated in Venetian mosaic art by a Russian artist, Podgoursky. On the domed ceiling are the god of the sun and the goddesses of the moon, and on the drum panels are symbolic figures of eight banking centres of the world: London, Paris, Calcutta, Bangkok, Hong Kong, Shanghai, Tokyo and New York. The marble for the building was imported from Italy and the purbeck stone from Devonshire.

The Chinese banking hall was separated from the main banking hall, attached to the back of the ground floor with a small entrance behind the building. It typifies the colonialist discrimination that usually found expression in British buildings in China. The Chinese banking hall was a "totally unexpected sight of a blaze of Chinese decoration"[6] with red, green and golden colours. The design, it is said, displayed the traditions of "fourteenth-century Chinese art" in twentieth-century Western techniques and materials so that "Those fortunate to have seen the palaces of Peking are immediately reminded of those wonder-halls."[7]

[5-17] Banque de l'Indo-China, 1911—13, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Traffic Police Department, East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.



The architect did not explain why he particularly applied fourteenth-century Chinese art. China was under the rule of the Mongolians in the fourteenth century. The greatest achievement in architecture in the Mongol dynasty (1279—1368) was the building of Greater Yuan Capital in Peking in the thirteen century (1267—71), which was introduced to the world by Marco Polo. But the palaces of Peking that the "fortunate" could see were built in the fifteenth century, between 1417 and 1420 in the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368—1644). The architect was inspired possibly by the Ming-dynasty palaces in Nanking, 195 miles from

Shanghai, which were built in 1366—68, and are believed to be the prototype of the Forbidden City of Peking. However, it is still questionable whether the design is Chinese traditional style. It is rather a mixture of Egyptian and Byzantine motifs plus Art Deco elements. John Lofting of the Bank had a heady comment on the hall, saying that for those who did not see the Palaces of Peking, the impression of the banking hall would be "a new one of barbaric splendour, a riot of pure decoration for the laughing joy of colour."[8]

It was interesting to note that China's concepts of geomancy, *feng-shui* was accepted by the Bank. A *fen-shui* master was asked to have a look at the site and surroundings before the building of the bank. It is doubtful whether the Bank really believed the superstition of *feng-shui*, or whether they simply considered its psychological effect on the Chinese people from the point of view of business, but it seems to have become the Bank's tradition. A *feng-shui* expert also appeared in the construction of Norman Foster's high-tech bank building in Hong Kong in 1986.

Work on the new structure of the Bank began in 1921 after the demolition of the old bank building, and on 23rd June 1923 Sir Ronald MacLeak, the British Minister in Peking, came to unlock the gate of the newly completed Bank and noted with pride that the building "has outrun anticipation" and "surpasses the great achievements which the skill of the architects ... led us to expect".[9] In a solid, monumental and permanent form, the building expressed a tangible confidence for 1920s Shanghai. The

Bank proudly placed a picture of the new building on its bank-notes. The Bank building was the second largest in the world. Wilson built his reputation on the bank building, which would bring him another chance to design the Bank's headquarters in Hong Kong some twelve years later. The building is now used by the Shanghai People's Municipal Government.

The interest in using the classical form in a monumental way can partly be explained by motives of vanity — the assertion of corporate prestige and personal ego. There was also an awareness of the role that the building had in symbolising public significance and creating identities for commercial establishments. Classicism provided impressive imagery for the buildings of the commercial world, designed to persuade the public either to invest or spend their money.

After the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, Palmer & Turner undertook another commission of bank institutions: the Chartered Bank in the Bund in 1923. [5-18] Almost in the same years Palmer & Turner designed two large bank branches. They both derive from the French classical formula, but the Chartered Bank is more American in its classicism in contrast to the British Baroque Hongkong & Shanghai Bank. It has the rusticated ground floor with ornate ironwork, colossal Ionic columns with large iron windows behind, and French windows on either side opening onto the balcony. The outer door is composed of metal bars of gorgeous design. The whole forms a remarkably rich and satisfying composition.

The classical style also became the most prestigious for large business companies. Jardine, Matheson & Company was no exception. This Scottish firm led the British merchant community in Shanghai, and had the honour of being the premier company in foreign Shanghai. The firm had reasons to believe itself to be what the treaty port was all about. Many Jardine taipans served on the Shanghai Municipal Council, four of them were chairmen of the Council. On a site valued at £1 million, Jardines' new office on the Bund, a grand Edwardian classical building, was opened by Sir Sidney Barton, the British Consul-General, on 15 November 1922.

The new building of Jardine, Matheson and Company was designed by R. E. Stewardson in 1920. [5-19] It was six storeys high, nine bays long, and in the Palladian style. The long front is based on five sections in a classical bay rhythm. The vertically central Corinthian colonnade is supported by the horizontally arcaded podium that is heavily rusticated, trying to tie the whole mass together. On the top was the attic with parapet and balustrades. It is obvious that the architect managed to create a classical palazzo for the "Paris of the East" — Shanghai, but the problem arose of how to squeeze six storeys into the traditional framework of the two- or three-storeyed classical elevation.

The architect found a primitive solution to this problem: a pseudo-tripartite facade that contains five storeys, including a blow-up "ground floor" that accommodates two floors, and a giant

colonnade rising from the second floor to the fourth floor. The giant details correspond to the exaggerated elevation, in order to satisfy the given proportion of the classical building. The Edwardian classical interior also kept up the standards of the Jardine & Matheson House, with a few concessions to climate or locality.

The contradiction between classical composition and commercial need in architecture appears in the front. The doubled "ground-floor" windows, which conceal two levels, are not harmonious with the normal-scale windows of the upper floors. To let in as much light as possible on the ground floor, while adhering to the classical symbolism of rusticated solidity, the wall is reduced to narrow rusticated piers, leaving large openings, which was also a universal feature of the early type of office building in Britain. It was a popular formula for commercial architecture that is seen easily in Paris, London and other European cities. Stewardson applied it without a second thought. The painstaking well-proportioned facade was finally marred by the later addition of an attic storey in the economic boom of 1985.

Turning to Tientsin, classicism was also the hallmark of the buildings at the time. The style amounted to an adaptation of the early 18th-century neo-Greek styles to the increasing use of steel frames. This combination fitted well with the international fashion of the time with the influences of American monumental classicism. The first representative example in Tientsin was the Kailan Mining Administration Building. [5-20]

[5-18] Chartered Bank, 1923, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Home Textiles Import and Export Corp., 18 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.

[5-19] Jardine, Matheson & Company, 1920-22, by R. E. Stewardson, extended in 1985, now Shanghai Foreign Trade Corporation, 27 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (lower)

[5-20] Kailan Mining Administration Building, 1919-21, by Atkinson & Dallas, now Tientsin CPC Committee, Tai An Road, Tientsin.

The Kailan Building was designed by B. C. Burnet,[10] of Atkinson & Dallas, in 1919, and completed in 1921. Since then, the building, which is now the headquarters of the Tientsin Committee of the Communist Party of China (CPC), has cast its Classical shadow over the street. It has been so much a centre of power that its role as architecture is rarely considered. In its day, the Kailan Mining Administration Building was a massive and dramatically modern building with a thorough and imaginative sense of history. This Beaux-Arts influenced design echoed the turn of British architecture away from the Arts and Crafts architecture to heroically scaled English Baroque. The classical style not only offered Western historic references but also possessed a scale capable of realising the demands of the new building type.

Like John Burnet's King Edward VII Galleries in London (1904—14), the steel-framed Kailan Building is dignified and appears as solid as a temple of antiquity. It does not pretend to hide its bulk, but makes a virtue of it. Fourteen fluted Ionic columns along the building's north facade determine the dimensions and the placing of the steel frame behind them. The integration of historical form and modern technology appears not effortless. Much of the power and dignity of the elevation is derived from the authentic elements of solid construction that fully express the load-bearing steel frame behind. A colonnaded Ionic atrium is located at the centre of the block, lit by the barrel-vaulted skylight. The building remains One of Tientsin's Western-style architectural masterpieces.

Tientsin's Greek Revival was born in the 1920s. It was favoured for the bank institution to convey the sense of formality and dignity. The British architects in Tientsin followed the academic orientation and made Tientsin "the Glasgow in the East". The influences of classicism on the British buildings in Tientsin can be seen particularly in bank buildings. Replacing the first generation of Renaissance banks, this phase of bank buildings employed the Beaux-Arts style. There were also American influences that led to more chaste classical designs. Through application of rigorous techniques of composition, buildings were also given unity, order and visual strength.

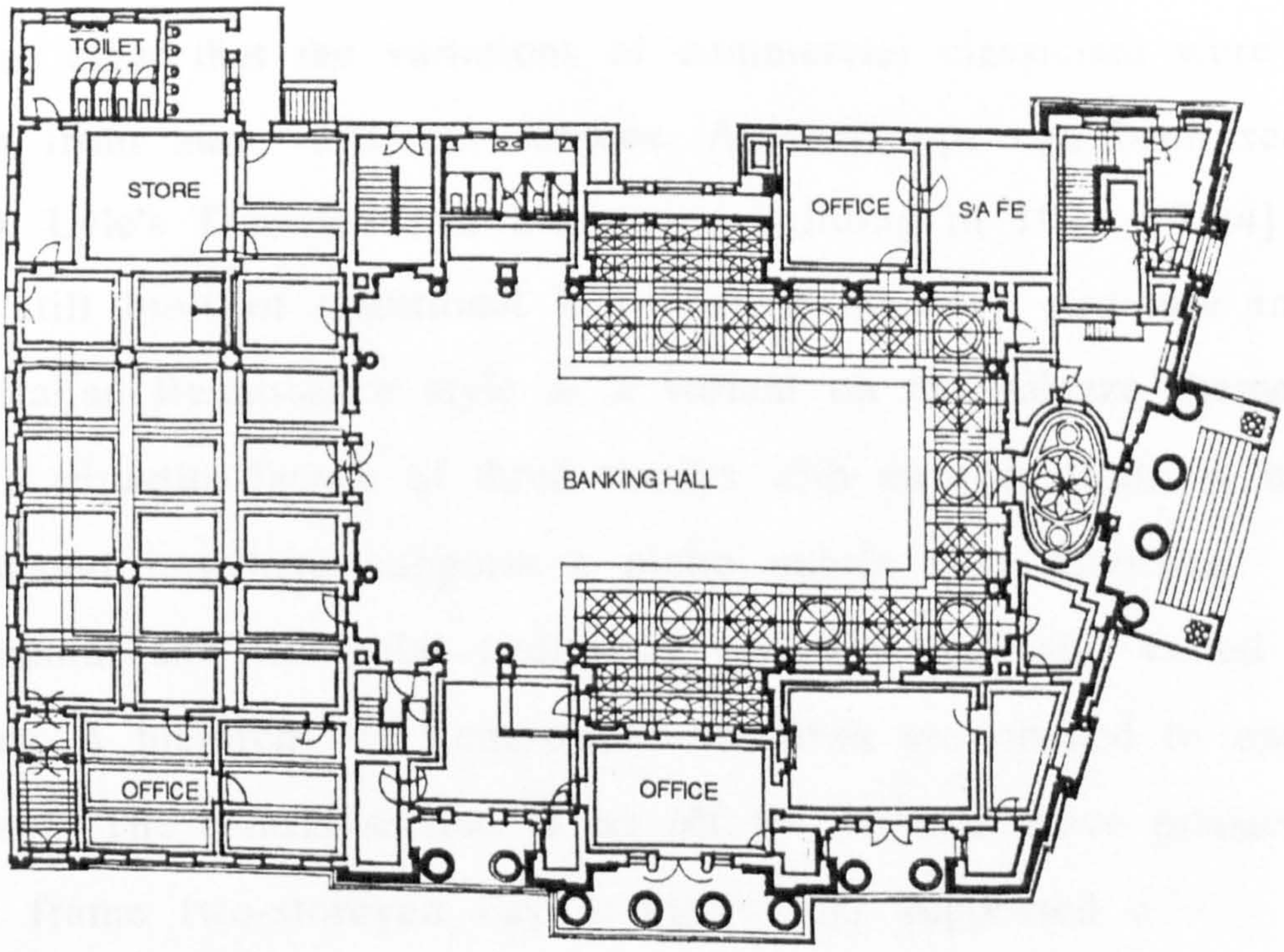
Victoria Road was Tientsin's chief financial centre. The Chartered Bank and Hongkong & Shanghai Banking Corporation were the first two foreign banks which opened their branches in Tientsin in the 1880s. Every treaty power had its own representative bank institution. If one understands the important role of the foreign bank in China, one will not be surprised to see those splendid bank buildings. These foreign banks not only financed foreign trade between their countries and China, but were also closely involved in Peking politics and financed Chinese warlords. Victoria Road, Tientsin was the nerve centre of the North China economy. The road began to flourish in the 1920s with reconstruction of the foreign banks, and was impressively walled by sober buildings that face each other along the street.

The Greek Revival style was favoured for Tientsin's bank buildings. Although these banks were historicist in design, they

were not conservative in structure. They were all treated as modern structures, but dominated by grand colonnades to settle all measurements within the formula. The massive columns are capped by Ionic or Corinthian capitals. The banking halls are ornate and spacious. They were veritable palaces devoted to money, giving a feeling of confidence together with opulence. At this time, because the building workers of Tientsin were not very familiar with Western classical architecture, many experienced masons were employed from Shanghai.

The Parthenon temple form, reassessed as an ideal model in the 1920s Tientsin, was now influential in British buildings. The Hongkong & Shanghai Bank's new office in Tientsin, [5-21] built in 1924, was one of Atkinson & Dallas's important Greek revival designs. The east facade has a projecting giant Ionic portico with a pediment, and the same portico on the south facade is extended by short Ionic colonnades at either side. The exterior walls are entirely covered with Tsingtao granite veneers. Traditionally, the banking hall is sited above street level. The entrance was framed by a small order with a pediment in front of the fan window. The elevation of the building is a well-proportioned, impressive, and cold, austere, fittingly serious "temple of money". Internally, the oval entrance lobby turns the axis of the street to the banking hall. Sixteen Italian black marble Tuscan columns colonnade the banking hall, supporting the arched ceiling. Used by the Tientsin Archives, it was used by the Tientsin Archives from 1952 to 1991 before the Bank of China moved in.

[5-21] Hongkong & Shanghai Bank, 1924, by Atkinson & Dallas, now Bank of China, North Jiefang Road, Tientsin.

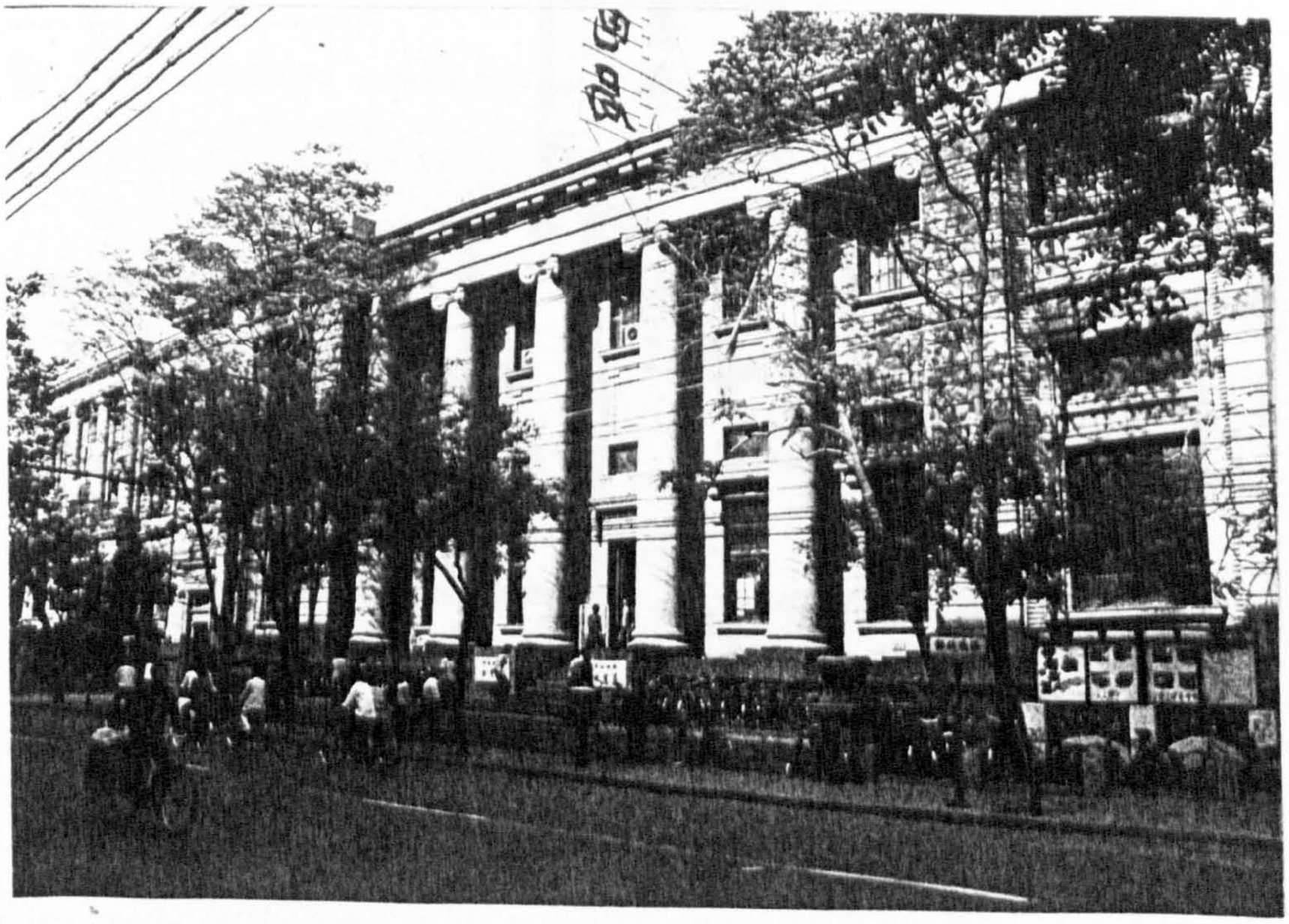


B. C. Burnet gave another Greek Revival monument when Yokohama Specie Bank decided to reconstruct its bank building in Tientsin. With cubic massing and Corinthian peristyle, the architect translated the stoic Greek temple into a commercial palace. [5-22] Set on a pedestal, eight colossal columns, rising three levels, thrust to the heavy entablature. Its counterpart is found in Hemming & Parkin's Chartered Bank, which was built in 1925. [5-23] The block building is also in the Greek revival style. Its historical facade masks the modern skeleton frame. The west front is a screen of giant Ionic columns sitting upon a podium and supporting a large cornice. On the south facade are another six Roman Ionic columns engaged in the concrete piers. The large iron windows between the piers let natural light come into the banking hall as much as possible. The building is now used as post office.

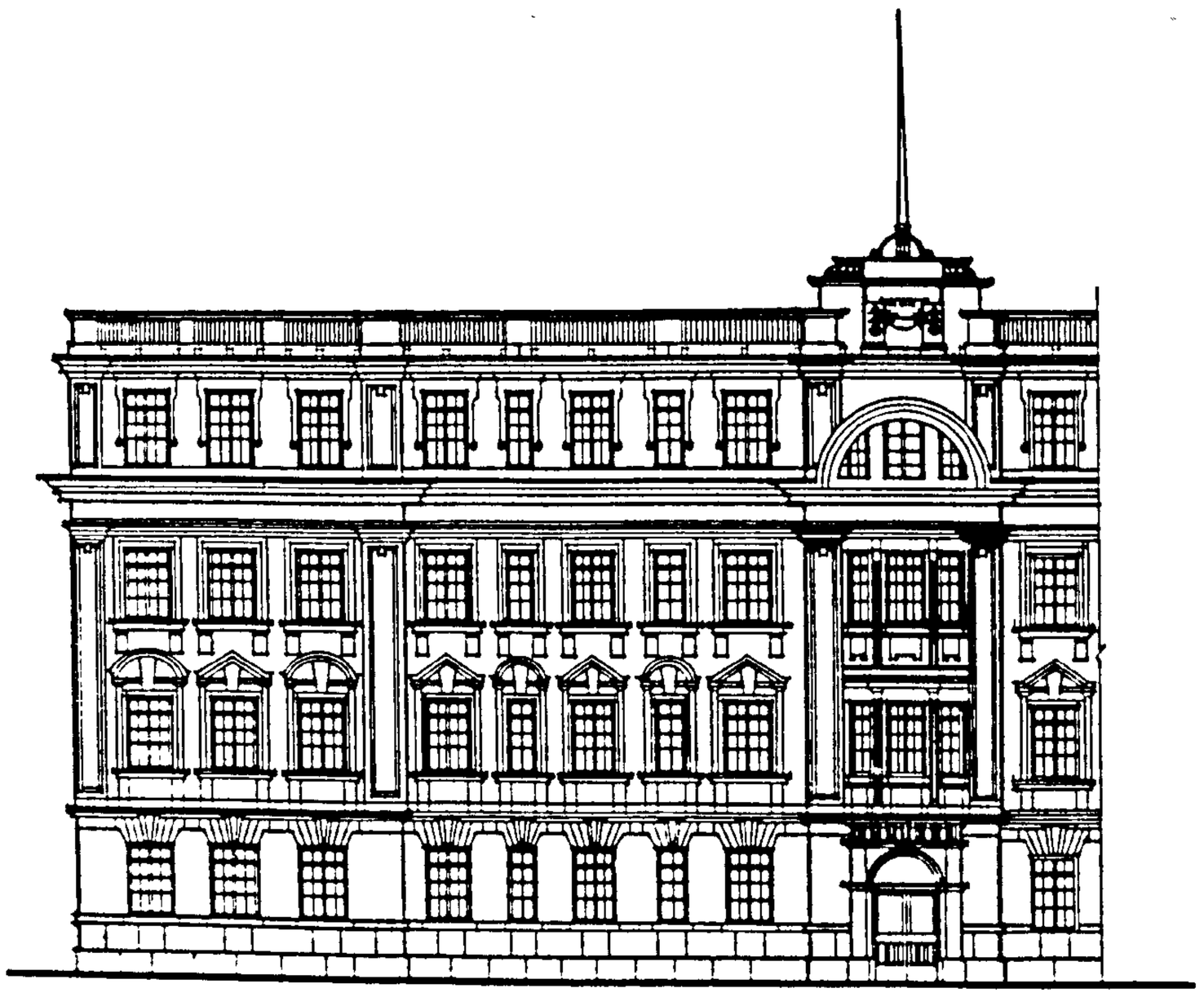
It was clear that the variations of commercial classicism were taken from many different sources. Another type can been seen in D. Lyle's Tientsin Land Investment building in 1924. [5-24] It was still built of traditional load-bearing masonry structure in the Italian Renaissance style as a variant on the palazzo theme. It has a tripartite facade of three storeys with an attic floor. A high rusticated basement supports a piano nobile with alternate segmental and triangular pediments giving a rich and varied effect. A hierarchy of Renaissance windows are opened to upper storeys. The central section is set off by Doric concave pilasters that frame two-storeyed bay windows and supported a semicircular attic, showing a mannerist gesture. The higher

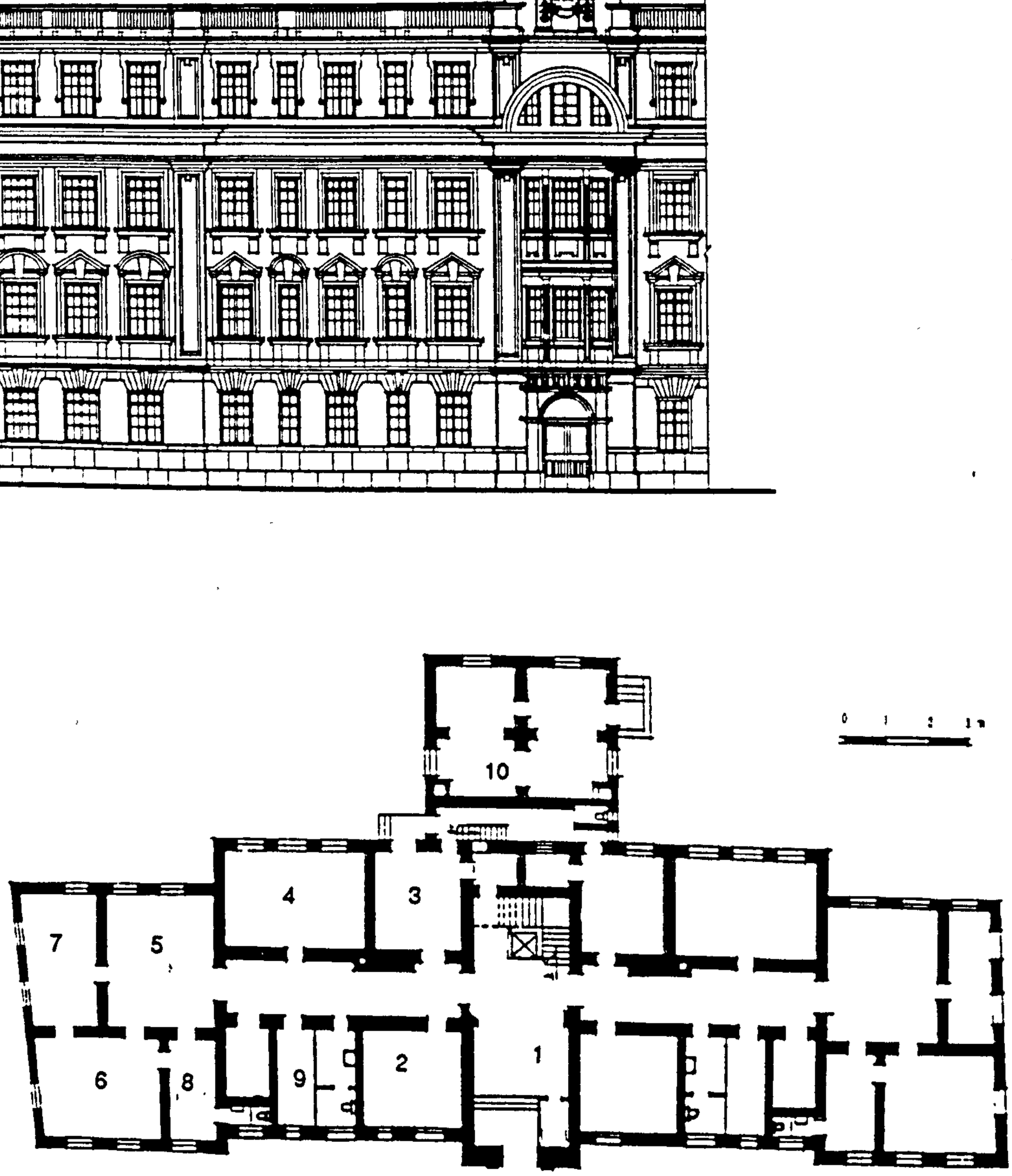
[5-22] Yokohama Specie Bank, 1926, by Atkinson & Dallas, now Bank of China, 86 North Jiefang Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[5-23] Chartered Bank, 1925, by Hemming & Parkin, now Tientsin Post Office, Jiefang Road Branch, North Jiefang Road, Tientsin. (lower)



[5-24] Tientsin Land Investment Building, 1923—4, by D. Lyle, now flats, 111 Dagu Road, Tientsin.





GROUND FLOOR

1 ENTRANCE HALL
2 EXHIBITION ROOM
3 SAFTY ROOM
4 COMPRADOR ROOM
5 OFFICE
6 MANAGER OFFICE
7 ARCHIVE
8 CLERKE
9 SERVICE
10 BOILER ROOM

central pavilion breaks the skyline of continuously horizontal roof balustrades. It represented an effect of massiveness and strength for the commercial building at that date. In Tientsin, because of the economic and technical conditions, the neo-classical building was relatively less popular than in Shanghai.

The architectural prosperity brought with it a high point of arts and crafts skills. Although traditional carved brick and wrought iron were still available, there was an increasing need to use more expensive materials, advanced techniques and professional designs in large commercial buildings. This encouraged a higher standard of craftsmanship. Throughout the Bund in Shanghai or Victoria Road in Tientsin, superb examples of bronze bas-relief in the form of gates or spandrels of windows or wall lamps could be seen in the imposing edifices of bank and trading companies. There were a number of good works of arts and crafts during this period. The craftsmanship of Shanghai was of very high quality at the time. Many bronzes works in Tientsin were generally sent to Shanghai for casting.

5.3 Civic Classicism

While commercial buildings were catching up with the decades of high Baroque and French classicism, the revival of classicism was also developing in civic architecture in British Shanghai. The International Settlement reached a level of unprecedented economic prosperity and political independence. The new

administration building for the Shanghai Municipal Council (SMC) expressed this municipal spending and the pride of the "model" Settlement, which questioned how a British town hall should be dressed and arranged in a semi-colonial city. [5-25] In contrast to Holy Trinity Church's Victorian Gothic revival nearby, the Municipal Council building's Edwardian Classicism was remarkable different.

The construction of the SMC building began in 1913, one year before the European War. Located at the centre of the Settlement, the building corresponds closely to Edwin Cooper's design for the Guildhall in Hull (1903—07). The complex occupies a whole block and provides several independent street accesses to the different Council departments. It is treated with French Renaissance motifs over the facades. A giant Ionic screen stands on the rusticated podium. Segmental and triangular pediments alternate over the windows. A band of diocletian windows runs on the attic. The main entrance on the junction of north and east wings is a fan-shaped porch. Above is an Ionic-columned bow window with a narrow view to the Whangpoo River. It is designed in a simple classical manner dispensing with unnecessary domes and sculptures.

Like its predecessor and the Tientsin town hall, the SMC building does not have a tower, although, in the original proposal, the architect did include an elaborate Wren tower, following the model of Cooper's Guildhall in Hull. The curtailment of the tower, which was perhaps because of the amount of money, reduced the

[5-25] Administration Building of Shanghai Municipal Council, 1913—18, now Shanghai Municipal Government building, 189—215 Central Jiang Xi Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[5-26] Shanghai Post Office, 1923, by R. B. Moorhead, now Shanghai Post Office General, 250 North Suzhou Road, Shanghai. (lower)

impact of the Council building. Without the tower the free classical building lacks the aggressive dominance and dignity in the city, and is in no way different from any other trading office or bank. Shanghai was a major city—even the population of the International Settlement would rival those of Leeds, Liverpool, or Glasgow—but its town hall was only comparable to the Guildhall in Hull. It was even hard to match those grand trading and banking palazzos in the Bund. They were the virtual rulers of the Settlement.

By the end of the First World War, the British Empire was in decline, and architecture suffered along with it. The architectural initiative had passed to continental Europe. When the rebirth of architectural culture was beginning in continental Europe, the British architects were not ready to apply any rules other than the ready-made ones of historical styles and fell back on classicism.

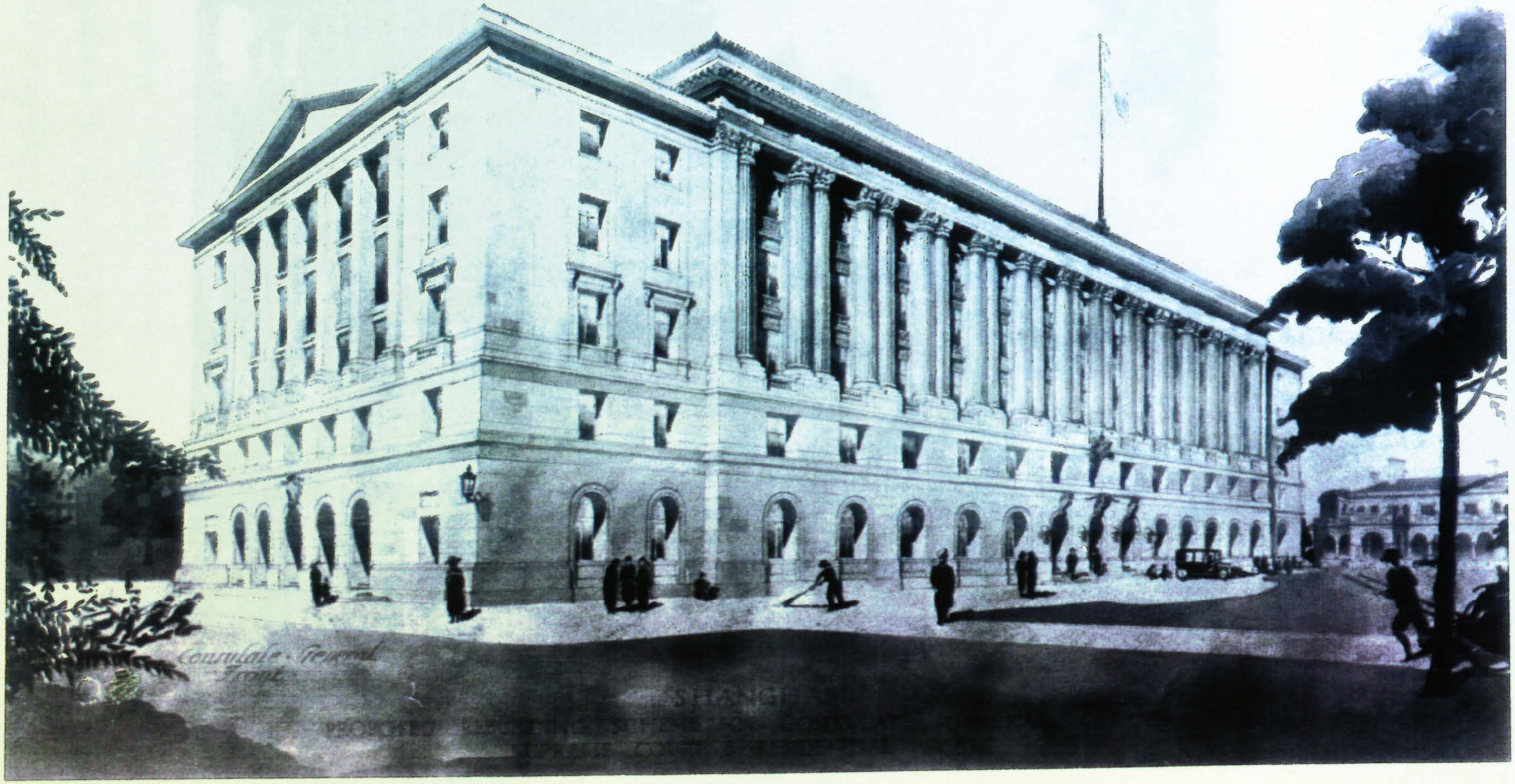
When Beaux-Arts classicism was used by British architects, it was different from that used by French, or American architects. A mixture of these three versions is to be seen in the Shanghai Post Office Building [5-26], designed by R. B. Moorhead in 1923. It is a reinforced concrete structure of five storeys behind a screen of gigantic granite columns. The main facade is based on the Beaux-Arts monumentality with the addition of large Chicago windows and a Wren tower from the English Baroque. At this time it was the only British civic building in Shanghai and Tientsin that had a clock tower and marble statuary. The white marble curved

staircases lead to the bright business hall on the first floor.

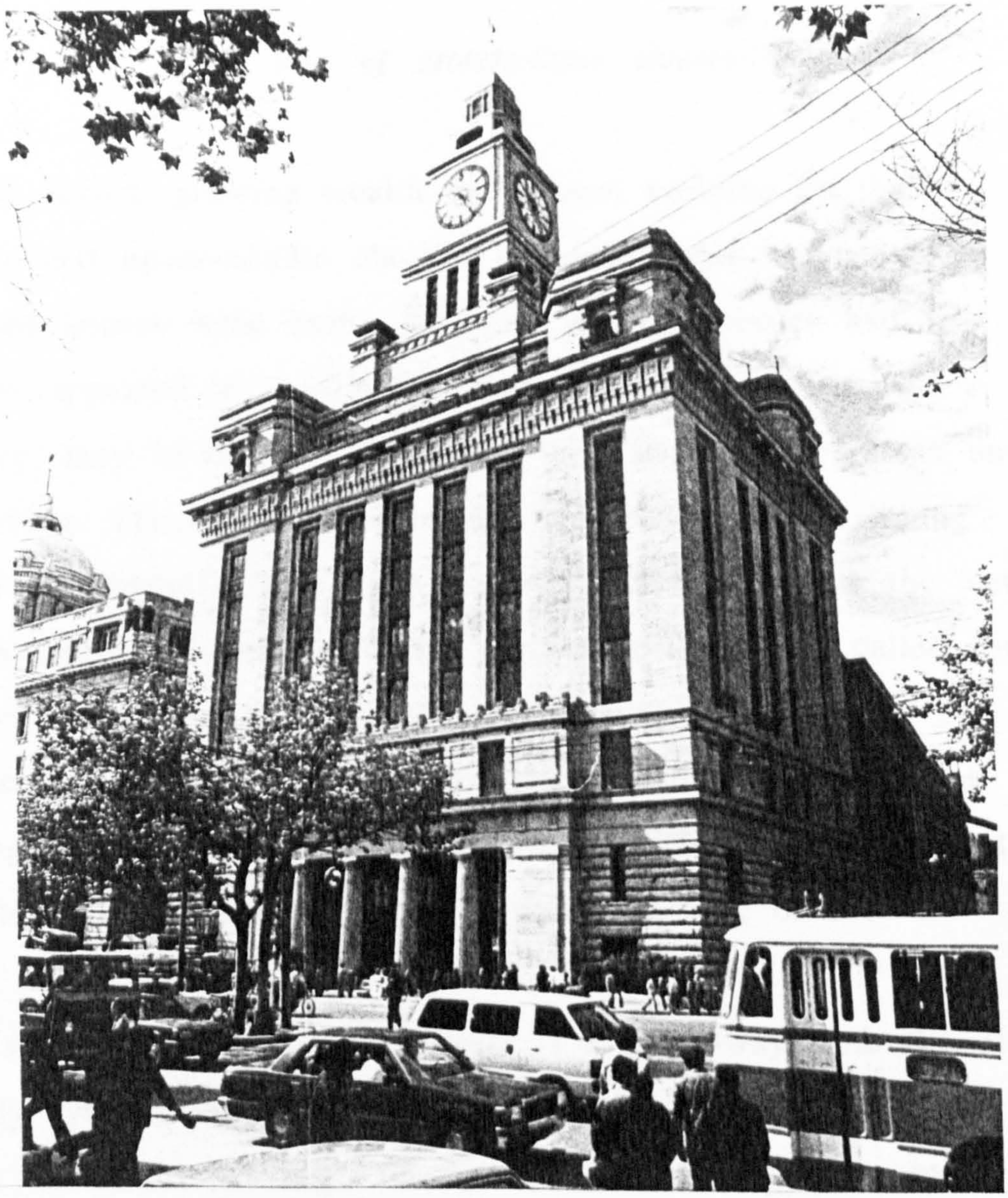
The proposed British Consulate and Court was designed by the chief architect, W. J. Roberts, of the Department of Public Works of the Shanghai International Settlement Council. [5-27] The design was in a style that allied the building to academic classicism. With its calculated rhythm and reduced number of architectural motifs, this design was in the tradition of rational classicism generally held to have begun with the east facade of the Louvre of the late seventeenth century. Its latest counterpart in Britain was the City Chambers Extension in Glasgow in 1923. The magnificent neo-classical facade on the Bund was remarkable in its austerity, horizontality and equilibrium. Although it was never built, the proposal represented the official view of Shanghai British architecture. W. J. Robert also designed new offices and residential quarters for the Tientsin British consulate in 1925. The proposed buildings were also in classical style.

The Shanghai Customs House [5-28], designed by Palmer & Turner in 1925—27, shows the architects attempting a new type of expression for a large building using the new structural techniques. The facade bridged the gap between classical and Art Deco. It has a tower mounted on the front of the U-shaped building, with a four-faced clock that sounds like the Westminster chimes. Large areas of plain stone surfaces are relieved by vertical piers between windows. The cornice is carried on by heavy brackets, reminiscent of an Italian fortress.

[5-27] Proposed British Consulate and Court in Shanghai, 1923, by W. J. Roberts.



[5-28] Shanghai Customs House, 1925—7, by Palmer & Turner, 13 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.



The entresol floor is decorated with antifixae. The Doric columns frame the entrance at street level, giving the building an imposing appearance. It mediated between the influence of French architecture and modern constructional techniques.

5.4 Rise of Middle-Class Houses

In this period, growing wealth encouraged building by the middle and upper-middle classes. A considerable number of terraced houses were built. Although terraced houses had already appeared in British Shanghai and Tientsin since last century, they never became popular with the middle classes until the 1920s. The development of the terraced house and linong house corresponded to changes in the social fabric. With the New Culture movement of the early twentieth century that called for a new order, new thought and a new society of democracy and science, new middle classes and working classes had emerged among the indigenous population in Shanghai and Tientsin, and had become modernising forces in the urban way of life.

The family revolution brought with it a breakaway from the old family system. There was a growing desire to live separately from the traditional large family. The terraced houses catered for these economically independent, well-salaried nuclear families. Another consideration for land developers was that the terraced house type could achieve very high density and cut down the cost of land and building in a large and dense city.

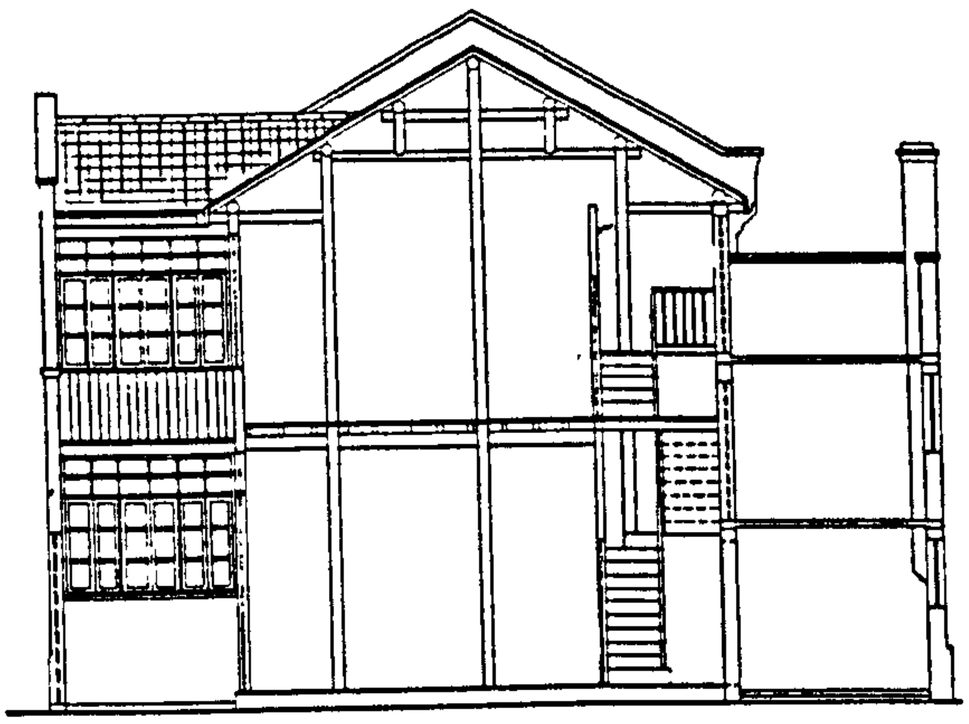
A notable change taking place in domestic architecture lay in the linong house. The linong house was by far the major type of domestic architecture in Shanghai, especially in the International Settlement. Two thirds of housing estates in Shanghai were of linong houses. There were more than 200,000 linong houses distributed over 9,000 streets in Shanghai. The linong house demonstrates how much the Western culture influenced Chinese people's life.

The early linong house built between the 1870s and the 1910s retained mostly Chinese country-house forms. The linong house built from 1919 to 1930 was improved with Western designs and innovations, and was called the reformed linong house. After 1930, the linong houses were built in the same way as the terraced houses. During this period the linong house was in transition from the traditional Chinese courtyard house towards the British terraced house.

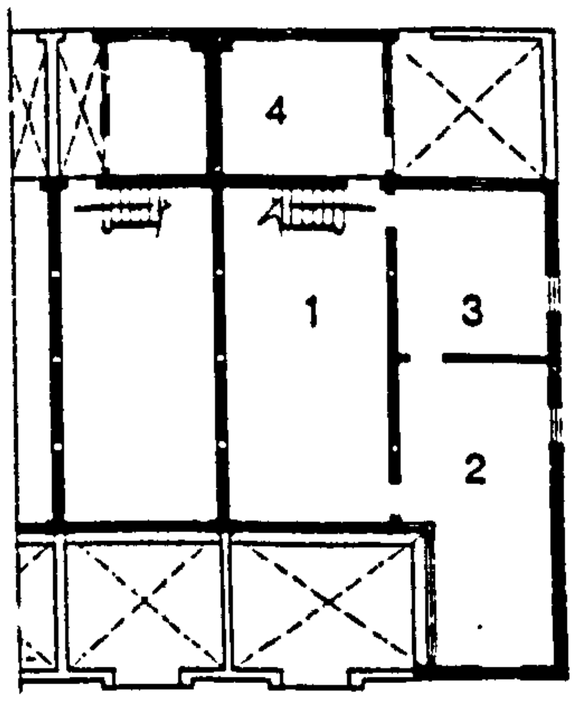
The linong houses in Siwen Li, Shanghai were built in 1916 with about 500 units. [5-29] The Siwen Li linong house is a variant and reduction of the traditional country house. It tended to be a rational and compact type of urban house. The design changed the traditional composition of the house plan, adopting an asymmetrical plan, eliminating the open inner light-well and the back light-well, and adding a storey on the back extension. The layout of rooms was based on function rather than the patriarchal-feudal hierarchy, and no longer suited the life of a

[5-29] Siwei Li, 1916, architect unknown, Shanghai.

ELEVATION



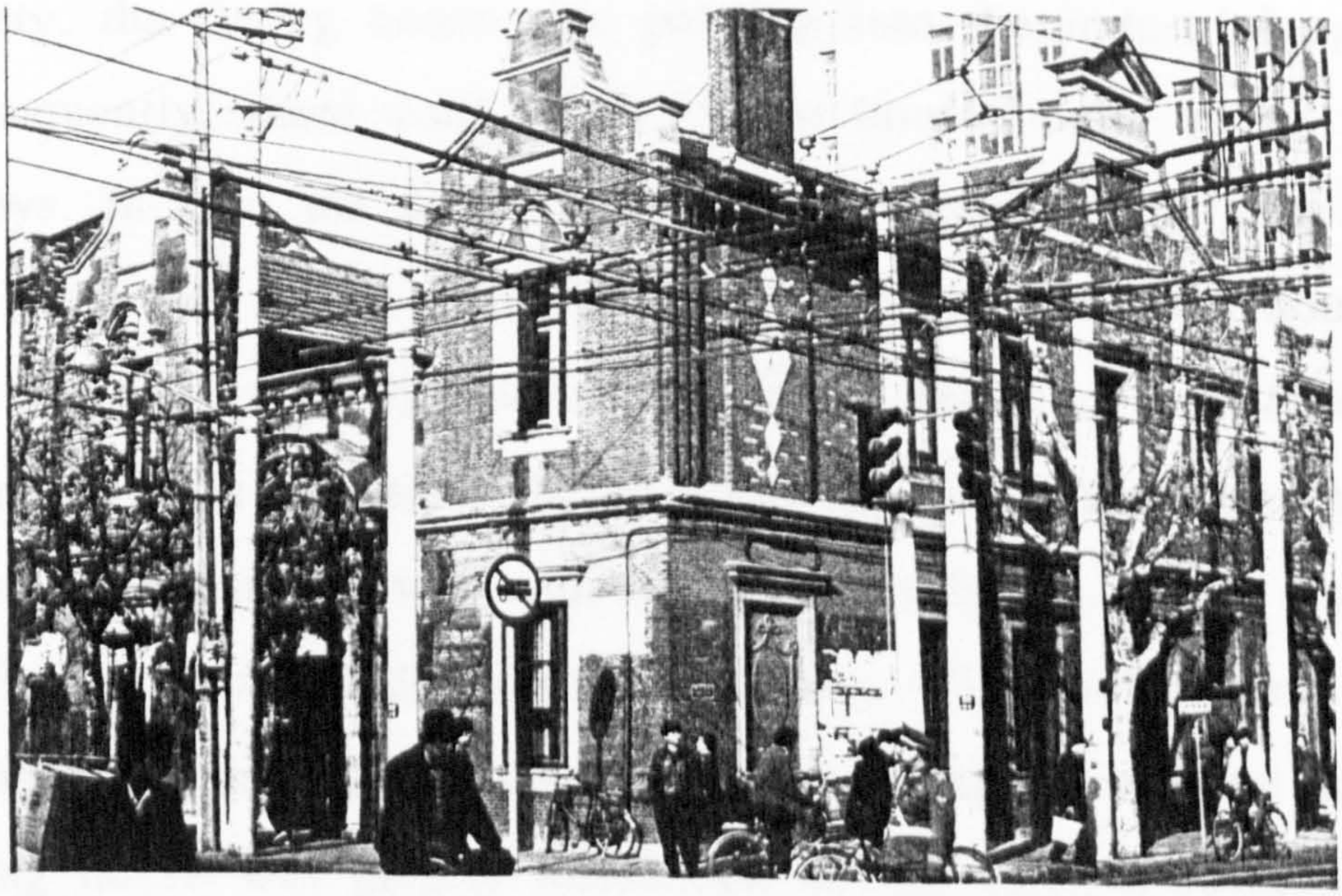
SECTION



GROUND FLOOR

1 HALL
2 SIDE ROOM
3 BACK ROOM
4 KITCHEN

[5-30] Linong houses: Daqing Li, 1913—15, architect unknown, 799th Lane, East Nanking Road (upper); Linong houses, 1920s, architect unknown, 126 South Shan Xi Road, Shanghai. (lower)



traditional family, which reflected the effect of the "family revolution" on the domestic architecture. On the ground floor, the central hall was located to one side, becoming the front room; the back staircase was moved into the back of the front room; a minute yard was attached on the back; but the side rooms remained; the dining space had not been separated from the hall; there was not yet a toilet, night commodes and outdoor latrines continued to be used; the door of the hall still opened directly to the front yard. It was still built in the Chinese traditional timber structure. The exterior is notable with the Baroque framed gate and Italian flavoured windows.

It was a divisive period when the linong house developed from the single-storeyed, horizontal country-house, towards the compactly-planned and storeyed town-house. It is a recasting of the country-house into a town-house form dictated by lack of space. Although it still had the character of the agricultural society, the linong house was growing into the industrial age. Subsequently, there were many linong houses built up to three storeys. In fact, the linong house was no longer built after 1930 and gave way to the completely Western type of town houses, but the latter was still called the linong house, or new-type linong, by the Chinese. The detached house or semi-detached house with gardens was called the garden linong, while the block of flats was called the apartment linong. With the increase of foreign houses at the same time, the elevation treatment of the linong house was greatly influenced by the English fashions of the Queen Anne style and other eclectic compositions. [5-30]

The progress of structure and material was also imprinted on the linong house. The load-bearing wall and the roof truss took the place of the traditional wooden frame. The "Buddha Hood (curved)" gabled roof and the "Horse-head (corbel-stepped)" gabled roof were replaced consequently by the parapet gabled roof usually with "kneeler" at the termination. Cement and machine-produced brick were widely used in house-building. Reinforced concrete began to be used, especially for balconies. The clear brick wall, instead of the traditional stucco curtain wall, became popular.

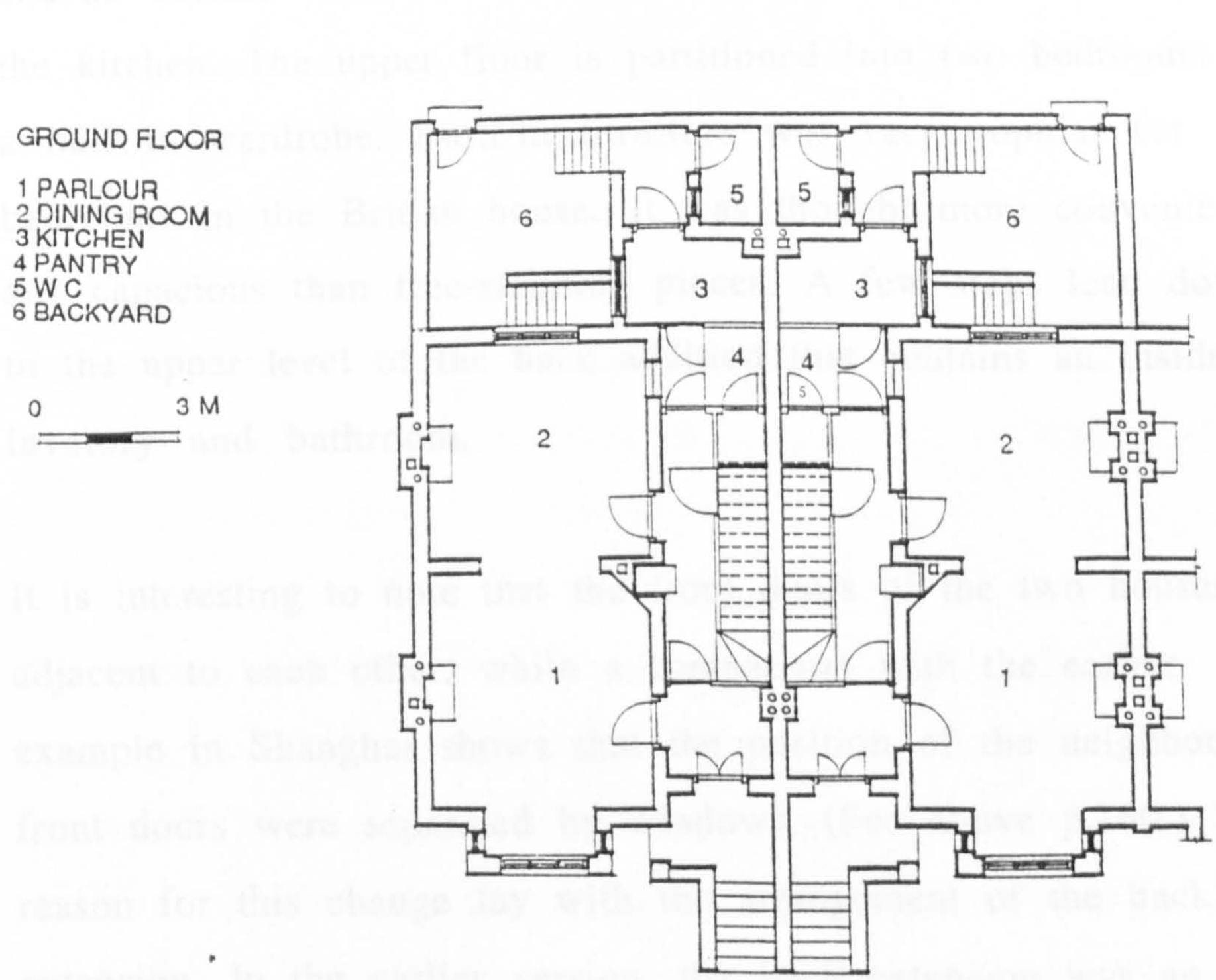
From the middle of the 1920s, following the demands of public health, fire and building regulations, the linong house had distinct improvements in ventilation, natural lighting and living environment: alleys were widened, yard walls lowered, house-depths reduced, and toilet introduced. The water-closet was rare in the treaty port cities until the early twentieth century, although it had been common in England in the 1880s. By the 1920s, new houses in better residential districts of Shanghai, Tientsin and other large cities began to have water closets or earth closets.

For Tientsin the story is slightly different. The linong house was not as common in Tientsin as it was in Shanghai. The majority of the Chinese population in Tientsin was concentrated in the Chinese city, and the Chinese inhabitants who resided in the British Municial Areas were usually political refugees,

professionals and retired government high officials and officers, such as the last emperor, P'u-i and his wives, and his father's family, five former Republic presidents, six former premiers, twenty-six ministers, twenty-two governors, retired generals, and compradors. They all had their private houses in the foreign concessions and invested heavily in real estate, especially in the British and French concessions. Here one could see clearly expressed the hierarchy of society. The house with its size and location reflected the social position of its occupant. Besides the large mansions for high-ranking citizens, the most characteristic expressions of the dwelling buildings in British Tientsin were terraced houses and semi-detached houses.

From the middle of the 1920s, the British types of residence were ascendant in domestic architecture. The models for British domestic architecture in this period were obviously borrowed from the tradition of Victorian and Edwardian housing. The terraced house and semi-detached house varied in size according to the allotted space and cost. Some big British firms had their own housing estates for their staff, which might derive from the old British concept that employers provided accommodation for their servants, especially when this investment was now associated with their economic profit. The Tientsin Land Investment (TLI) Court is a typical Victorian middle-class terraced house in the English vernacular style, which was constructed in 1925 by the Tientsin Land Investment Company for its staff. [5-31]

[5-31] Tientsin Land Investment Court, 1925, by D. Lyle, Tientsin Land Investment company, now Xiannong Court, 292 He Bei Road, Tientsin.



The TLI Court is built of brick and wood. The house has two storeys with a basement. The double-fronted house is characterised by a square-cut bay window capped by red-tiled gabled roofs with wooden barge boards, and a small balcony decorated above the open porch, which is now closed with windows to become the extension of the box room upstairs. There is a minute garden with plants in the front and a smaller backyard with a staircase down to the basement.

The small entrance lobby is approached up steps and gives access to the front parlour, the dining room behind and the back extension. The parlour and dining room are separated by a sliding door. The back extension houses a kitchen with a pantry and an outside water-closet. There is a door to the outside from the kitchen. The upper floor is partitioned into two bedrooms by a built-in wardrobe. Built-in furniture was very popular for bedrooms in the British house. It was thought more convenient and capacious than free-standing pieces. A few steps lead down to the upper level of the back addition that contains an inside lavatory and bathroom.

It is interesting to note that the front doors of the two houses are adjacent to each other, while a comparison with the earlier example in Shanghai shows that the position of the neighbouring front doors were separated by windows. (See above p.160.) The reason for this change lay with the arrangement of the back extension. In the earlier version, the back extension was an

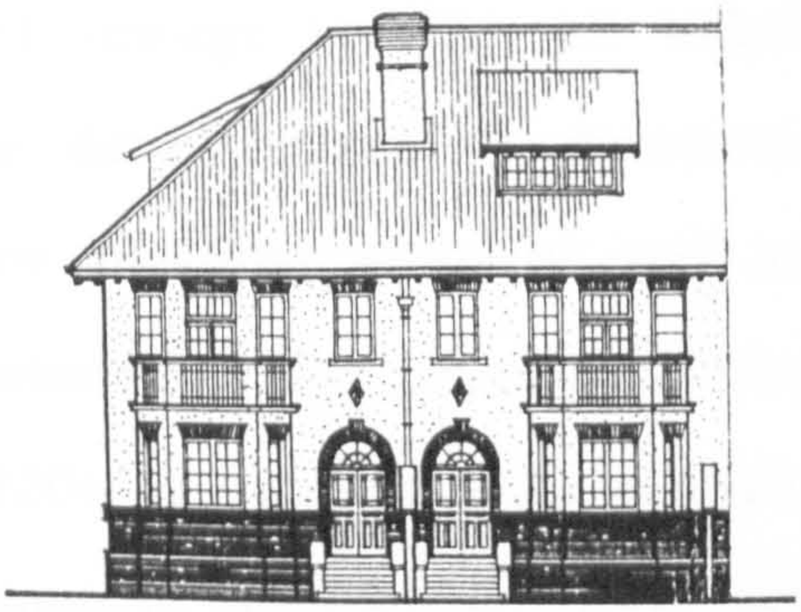
independent part for each house. Thus, it was easy to keep a distance between the neighbouring front doors for privacy. When the back extensions are coupled and under one roof for reasons of economy, the passage from the entrance to the back extension had to share one wall. Therefore, the two neighbouring doors became adjacent.

This type of layout adopted by D. Lyle is a perfect model of the British "byelaw-type" terraced house that had been built for the small-medium-sized house in England in response to the Public Health Acts of 1872—75. It usually has two storeys with two rooms on the ground floor with addition of the back extension, and two bedrooms upstairs. More changes can be found in the planning of medium and larger houses. There are fluctuations in number of rooms and in the back extension, and there are also diverse architectural styles in the elevations. Hemming & Parkin provided their versions of the terraced houses at 309—331 Machang Road, Tientsin. [5-32] The house has two storeys plus the attic. The back extension has the addition of a garage and a separated servant studio. In the frontage design, the classical style and vernacular style met ultimately in the revival of Georgian architecture.

The terrace dwelling was undoubtedly one of the important urban types of the British housing in China, which always gives the timetable of the economic development and growth of the newly affluent middle classes in the cities. The terraced houses of Fu An Li, Tientsin is another example, built in 1916 by Zheng Yi-

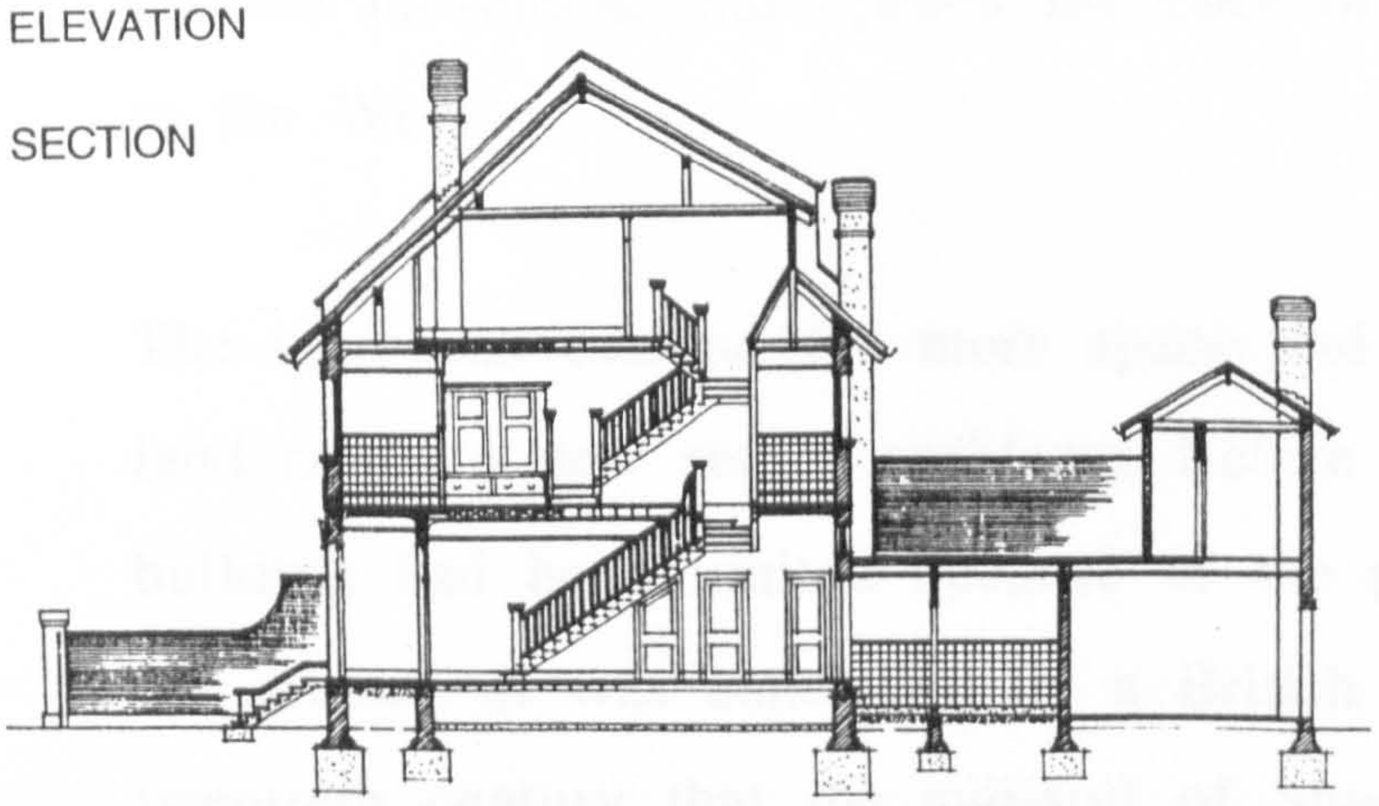
zhi, the comprador of Butterfield & Swire. [5-33] The red-brick terrace sets back in the middle, forming a long balcony in the front, to give a sense of symmetry to the whole building. The roof is hidden behind a parapet to give simply the effect of a wall pierced at regular intervals by window openings. The ground floor is stuccoed to resemble stonework. The basements, unlike British Georgian terraces, have neither lightwells nor entrances approaching directly on the street level. The semi-basement was unusual for the British terraced house at the time, but it was popular in the Tientsin British Areas. Natural lighting for the semi-basements depends on the high windows above the street level. The opening casement windows have replaced the Georgian sliding sash window. The sash window was very popular in British buildings in Tientsin. The damp season of Tientsin perhaps accounted for the introduction of the sash window that was very convenient for regulating the ventilation. But the sash window is now rarely to seen in China.

With the collapse of the old social order and appearance of new ways of life, the dwelling house, the last castle of Chinese architectural tradition, was undermined. The Western-style house swept over Shanghai and Tientsin. There was also a parallel proliferation of building types and forms, such as tenements, terraced houses and flats. When European types of houses were built for Chinese clients, they were always modified according to Chinese tradition and custom. Climate, building material, and local techniques were also accommodated.



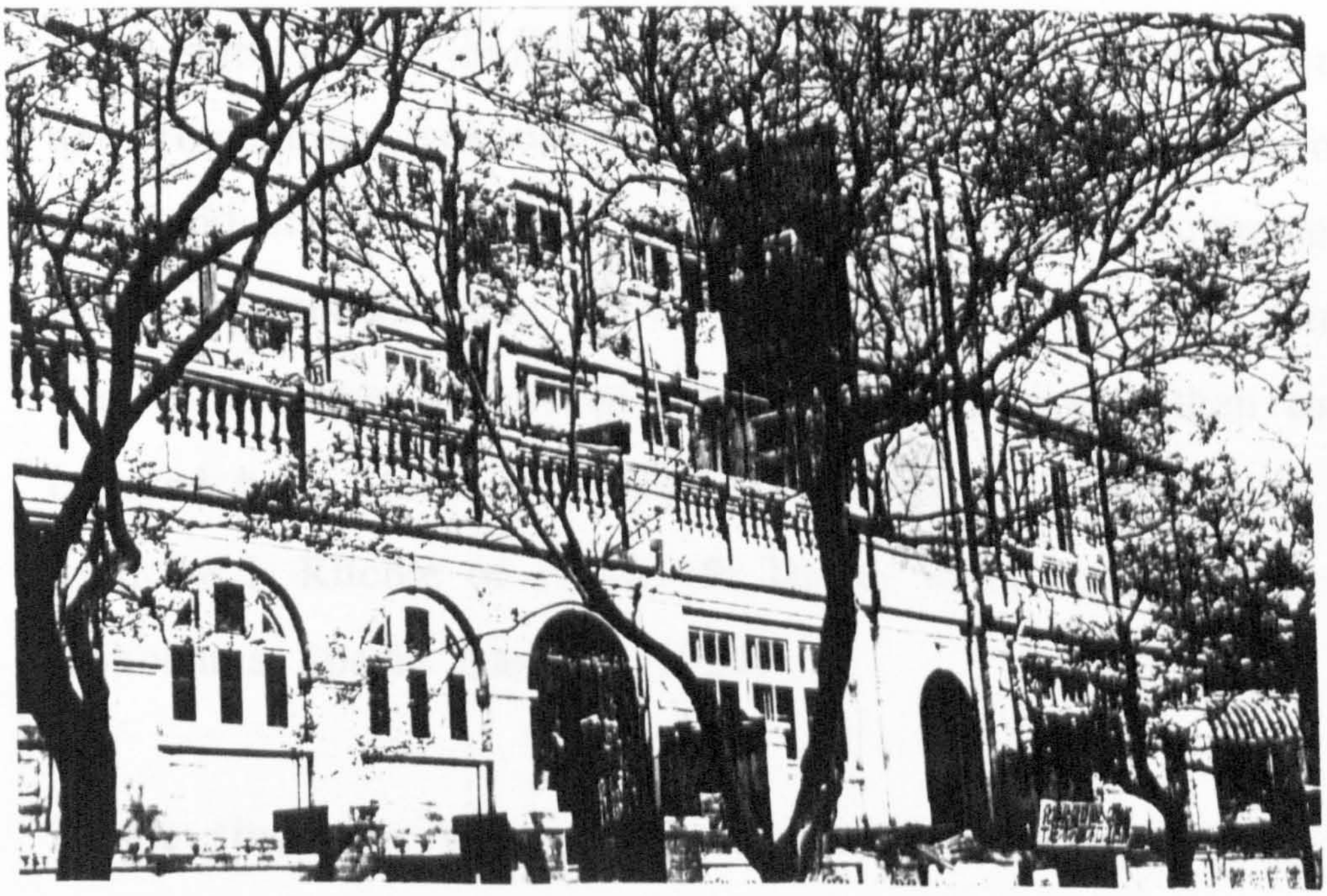
ELEVATION

SECTION



[5-32] Terraced houses, 1920s, by Hemming & Parkin, 309—331, Machang Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[5-33] Fu An Li, 1916, architect unknown, 46—50 Chong Qing Road, Tientsin. (lower)



Increased health care, better water facilities, electricity supply and sewage systems all helped to improve living conditions and the development of domestic architecture. Masonry structure, new building material and an asymmetric plan were the main features of the Western influences on Chinese housing in the 1920s. It is especially significant that a deep change in Chinese domestic architecture took place at the same time with the New Culture movement that opened the door of Chinese mind and life to the West.

The increased demand for more space and the spiralling cost of land raised a new set of problems. Before 1920, the height of building had been limited because of the poor bearing capacity of the ground. It was concluded by a British study in the early twentieth century that the sub-soil of Shanghai could only "stand six floors".[11] However low-rise buildings were no longer adequate to satisfy the commercial demand. To raise the rate of land use and height of the building, structural engineers had to find some new foundation technology to spread the building loads on the sand and silt. One of the proposed solutions was suggested by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, which was to saturate the site with masses of driven timber piles that were then to be covered by a thick reinforced concrete raft. This system was first used by J. Ritchie of Palmer & Turner in the construction of the Yokohama Specie Bank in 1924.

Frame structures were widely in use in buildings during this period. At first, these framed buildings were constructed of load-

bearing masonry with steel beams enclosed in concrete; later, they were of steel and reinforced concrete structure. The Shanghai Telephone Company, built in 1908, was the first cast-in-situ reinforced concrete framework in China. Reinforced concrete-framed buildings were able to be built up to ten storeys high. The first steel framework in Shanghai was built in 1916. Since the Cathay Mansions of 1925, steel frameworks had become the main means of structure for high-rise buildings.

The role of housing speculators in the building of Shanghai cannot be neglected. Among them E. D. Sassoon & Company was the most successful. The Sassoons, a British Jewish family, came to Shanghai in 1844 from Bombay, India. The family was one of the biggest estate developers in Shanghai. This dynasty, beginning its real-estate business in the 1850s, owned about 1,900 buildings and houses[12] in Shanghai by the 1930s, including some of the largest buildings, such as the twelve-storeyed Sassoon House, the thirteen-storeyed Cathay Mansions, the eighteen-storeyed Grosvenor House and so on. Victor Sassoon established the Cathay Land Company and the Cathay Hotel Company. He controlled the Yangtze Finance Company and the International Investment Trust. His buildings of apartments, office blocks, department stores and hotels spread over the city. His speculation in real estate made a site on the Bund as expensive as the equivalent in New York or London.

Two other important figures in property development of Shanghai were C. H. Arnhold and Silas Hardoon, another British

Jew from India. In Tientsin, important foreign property companies were the British Tientsin Land Investment Company, and the Franco-Belgian Credit Foncier D'Extreme Orient Conciete Anonyme.

6

Movement to Modern Architecture, 1927—1943

Impact of European Modernism

American Sources

Reaction of Historicism

British architecture during this period was in crisis, obsessed on the one hand with the conflicting demands of historicist tradition and on the other hand by "new architecture". The British leadership in architecture was challenged by the rise of American schools of architecture. The economy created a marvel of temporary prosperity for the building boom in the 1930s. The British architects in China were taken out of the shadow of British home influences. The light of the British Empire in architecture was eclipsed by the new ideas from continental Europe and America. Concurrent with the experiments with avant-garde international functionalism, another strand of modern architecture, the Art Deco style, was well received and favoured by commercial interests. With the development of new building technology, the public commissions were persuaded to embrace new, modernist tendencies, but most private commissions continued to retain ties to the past. In the swan song of classicism, British architecture moved towards modern architecture.

6.1 Impact of European Modernism

British architecture weathered the storm of the modern movement in the 1920s in Britain, so did British Shanghai and British Tientsin. There was little contact between British architects and the modern movement when modernism was gaining ground on the European continent. However, 1927 is thought crucial for British architecture, the year in which the modern movement in architecture was introduced into Britain from France and Germany. Frederick Etchells published his translation of Corbusier's *Vers une architecture* in 1927. Modernism was accepted by the British only as the highest traditional sense from the "understanding of the spirit of the past".[1]

With the wide dissemination of modernism in the 1930s when the modern movement began to make some headway in Britain, modern architecture also gained a foothold in Shanghai and Tientsin. Some derivative modern buildings were built, but those continental European ideas were not received with open arms, and they did not help to produce any real British school of modernist architecture.

It will surprise today's architectural historians that continental modern architecture had been imported into British Shanghai in 1927 with the Fuchow-Road Market, [6-1] when the modern movement was mostly talk in Britain. In England from the end of

1920s to the outbreak of the Second World War, some distinguished émigré architects arrived in England from the European continent. Despite some notable contributions, the role of these avant-garde architects remained marginal, and nothing of substantial importance in the new spirit was built in Britain.

The old English feeling of insularity could not stand "alien modernismus". "As an Englishman", said Oliver Bernard in December 1936, "I detest the German invasion of architecture and other things."[2] In Britain there were even cases where local authority officials and representatives obstructed the necessary permits to build "modern" buildings. Therefore, the Fuchow-Road Market is significant in architecture for both Britain and China. It is one of the few buildings in China in the 1920s that followed the European modern movement of the same period.

The Fuchow-Road Market appeared a radical experiment in the modern mode. The four-storeyed, 3,690-square-metre building displays an avant-garde repertory of the streamline moderne in the sense associated with the work of the European masters, such as Gropius or Scharoun. The design incorporates such details as a flat roof, a corner entrance, plain, white and bright surfaces, horizontally continuous glazed bands, and curved corners, reminiscent of ocean liners. The emphasis of its new architectural idea is also on the spatial freedom made possible by the reinforced concrete frame. The standard-sized steel windows were manufactured based on the European continental patterns. Its aerodynamic form is the transplantation of the machine

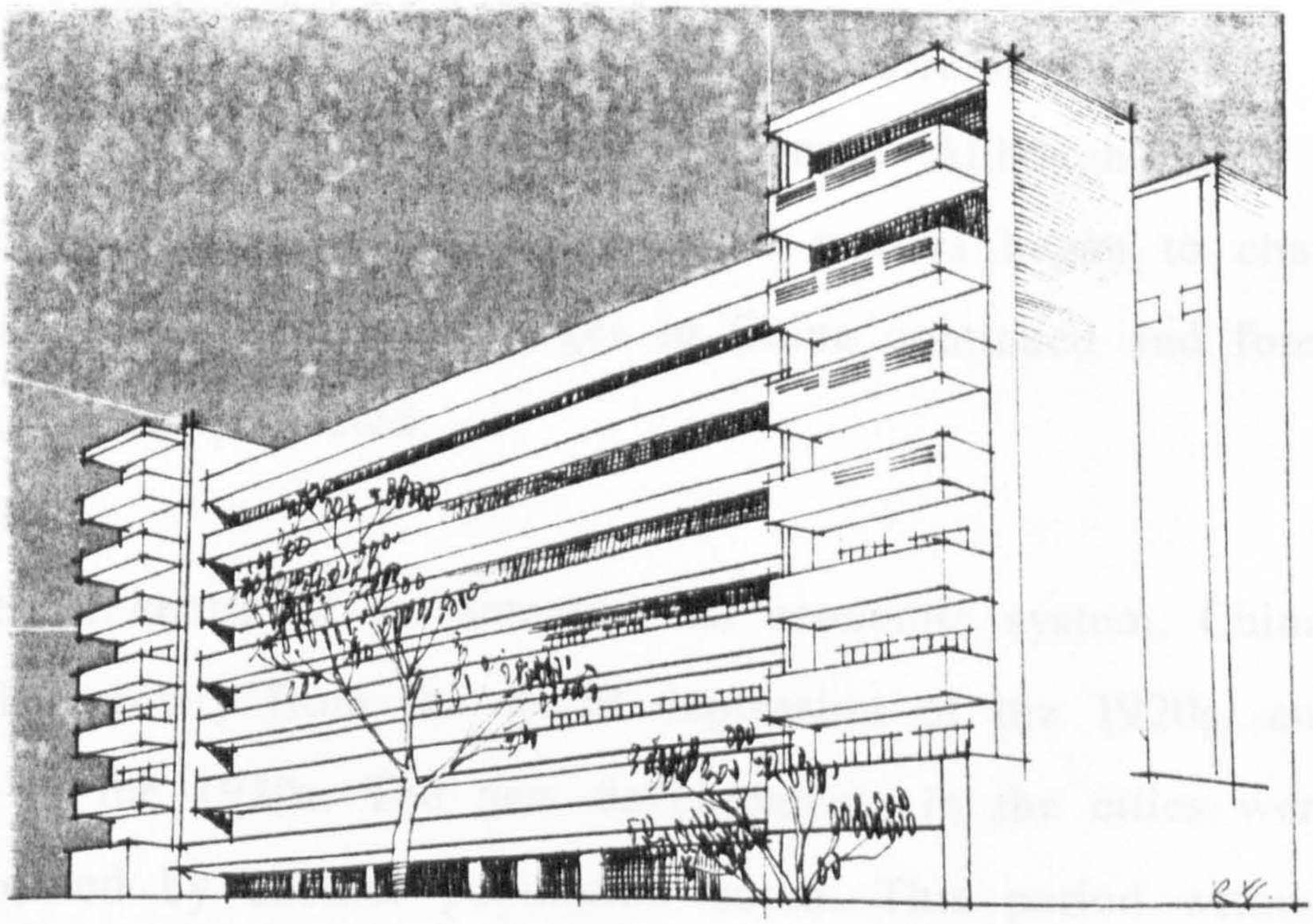
aesthetic that derives from Le Corbusier's ideas. This streamlining modernism did not become popular until the 1930s when considerable success was found in domestic and industrial buildings.

The Victoria Nurse Flats, Shanghai was a spectacular design for its time. [6-2] It is said that this hospital-like modernist building was designed by a British medical doctor, not by a British architect. If it is true, the doctor probably adapted the mode from pattern books or architectural magazines that were disseminating the modernist work throughout the world. The seven-storeyed slab building was built in 1930. It is in the modern form of clean, cubic, flat-roofed concrete architecture. The rectangular central section is terminated by the higher ends. The white projecting galleries on every floor give a strongly horizontal rhythm on the south elevation.

This block introduced European modern architecture, but its appeal depended more on the stylistic language than on modernist principles. Its close counterpart in Britain at the time is perhaps Wells Coates's Isokon Flats in Hampstead (1933—34), but the Victoria Flats predated the Isokon Flats by three years. On further examination of the Victoria Flats, it can be seen that the side walls of the building are finished with red terracotta, which shows the difference between real modernism and its imitation. The architectural programme of the Victoria Flats functioned as a long-stay hostel for nurses, reflecting Le Corbusier's social idea in architecture.

[6-1] Fuchow-Road Market, 1927, Department of Works, Shanghai Municipal Council of the International Settlement, 597 Fu Zhou Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-2] Victoria Nurse Flats, 1930, by a British doctor, 369 Wu Lu Mu Qi Road, Shanghai. (lower)



In 1927 Shanghai became a Special Municipality under the direct control of the Nanking central government, independent from Kiangsu Province. The newly-born Chinese municipal government soon set up the plan for the foundation of Greater Shanghai that resulted in the establishment of a new civic centre in the north of city. A Chinese Provisional Court was established to administer Chinese inhabitants in the foreign settlements. Chiang Kai-shek's government began a campaign to extend its influence into Shanghai.

Foreign Shanghai became worried about its interests because the foreigners were confronting a Chinese nationalist movement that had as one of its targets the treaty system and foreign privilege. From early 1927, foreign refugees poured into Shanghai from up-river and from the outposts and hinterland. Seeing the Chinese recovery of the Hankow British Concession in 1927 and the growing strength of the Nationalists after 1927, the Municipal Council of the International Settlement finally had to give three seats to Chinese deputies in 1928 and two more in 1930. The Public Park had to be opened to the Chinese. Although the relationship between China and Western powers began to change, the existence of foreign privileges in China continued and foreign interests were protected.

Outside the centre of the international economic system, China escaped narrowly from the world depression of the 1920s, and thrived in the 1930s. The new developments in the cities were accompanied by another population boom. This period witnessed

a phenomenal proliferation in the number and size of buildings. The reasons for this growth were complex, which included population increases, the Japanese expansion after the Manchurian incident in 1931, and world depression in the West.

Rising land values in the city centre and the continuing demand for more profit-making space necessitated buildings of far greater dimensions with less money and time spent on their construction. The residential quarters in the city were comprised of large blocks, which employed high-density terrace forms. Apartment living was more a necessity than a preference. The evolution of metropolitan domestic architecture from a dense block to massive towers occurred in Shanghai. Flats became a new choice of residence in Shanghai for the increasing middle classes. The modernist styles were best seen in flats and hotel sectors. One reason for the adoption of modernism was that the modern-style building satisfied at the same time both the profits of the investors and the tastes of the middle classes. Among the most respected works of this genre are Palmer & Turner's buildings. As a result of their tour of Europe, many of Palmer & Turner's blocks of flats were designed in the European modernist style.

The Embank Building, constructed in 1931—35, is one of the best modern waterfront residential complexes in Shanghai, a confident essay in reinforced concrete construction. [6-3] The building exaggerates the functionalist idea that all the aesthetic principles of the past were meaningless to it. Sweeping round its corner site,

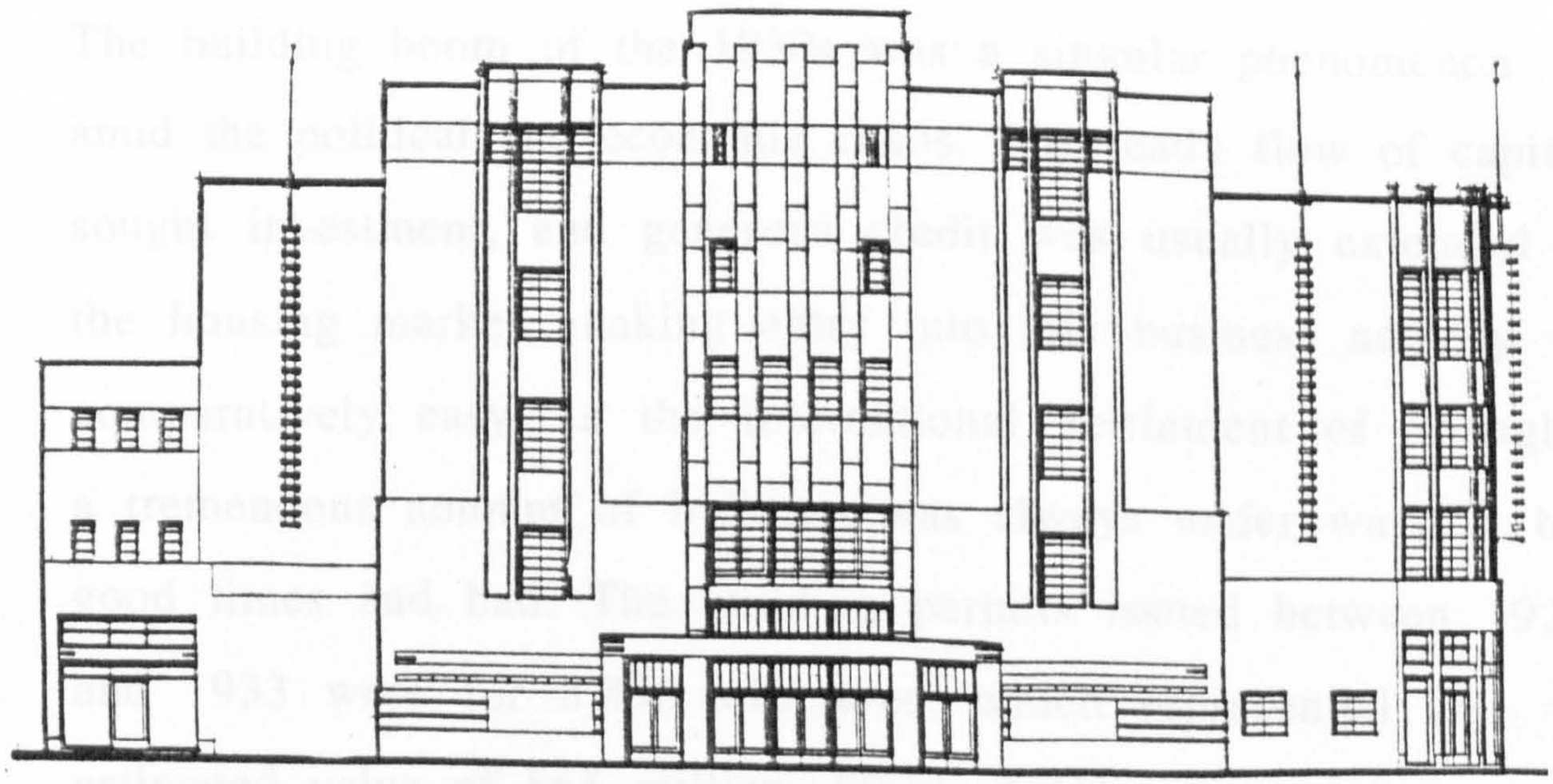
a ten-storeyed tower, which has two added storeys now, dominated the S-planned, eight-storeyed complex. The tower works as an architectural feature to distinguish domestic architecture from industrial building, and acts as a monumental legacy left behind after British architecture moved into the International Style. The Embank has been the largest "urban-scale" building in Shanghai, containing 282 flats and 126 studios. It now accommodates seven hundred families with a population of two thousand people.

In Tientsin, modernism was also popular in the 1930s, but very few British architects were involved here. The Great China Theatre was designed by an Anglo-Swiss firm, Loup & Young, in 1930, who used the streamlined modern style in one of the first modern theatres of the 1930s. [6-4] The Taku-Road Market is another functionalist design by an anonymous British architect of the Tientsin British Municipal Council in 1933. British-educated Chinese architects, Yan Zi-heng and Chen Yan-zhong, made up somehow for the absence of British architects with their modernist contribution to Tientsin architecture. Yan Zi-heng had studied in Hong Kong University in the 1920s, and Chen Yan-zhong graduated from the Architectural Association School of Architecture, London, in 1928.

China passed from moderate prosperity to deep depression in the 1930s, but Shanghai and Tientsin still showed a remarkable resilience and were not affected until the last years of this period, when Japanese aggression affected China and retarded its

[6-3] Embank Building, 1931—35, by Palmer & Turner, 400 North Su Zhou Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-4] Great China Theatre, 1931, by Loup & Young, 124 Haerbin Road, Tientsin. (lower)



modernisation. In Shanghai the suffering was less at first, and the relatively modern sector continued to grow during the depression years. The plethora of money flowing in from the rest of the country made credit relatively easy and encouraged speculation in land and building. In Shanghai, British investments in 1931 reached about £130 million, and by 1937, about £180 million.

Tientsin shared the general upward trend of the Chinese economy, although its economic hinterland was considerably circumscribed because of the independence of Outer Mongolia and the separation of the Manchurian provinces. In Tientsin in 1931, British investments and commercial interests were estimated at a total of £37 million. In the first half of 1937 before the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War, total imports into Tientsin were valued at standard $69 million and exports at Shanghai $98 million, an increase of 100 per cent in imports and 50 per cent in exports over the corresponding period for 1936.

The building boom of the 1930s was a singular phenomenon amid the political and economic chaos. The ready flow of capital sought investment, and generous credit was usually extended to the housing market, making entry into this business activity comparatively easy. In the International Settlement of Shanghai, a tremendous amount of building was always under way, in both good times and bad. The building permits issued between 1929 and 1933 were for 8,836 structures, which represented an estimated value of $65 million. [Table 6-1][3]

[Table 6-1] New buildings permits in the International Settlement between 1929 and 1933

	1929	1930	1931	1932	1933	Total
Chinese houses	5,282	6,818	6,987	2,071	3,545	
Foreign residences	380	327	97	95	257	
Apartments	8	5	9	5	13	
Office buildings	33	35	41	21	13	
Hotels	1	3	2	3	0	
Foreign stores	310	298	273	216	204	
Theatres	6	6	4	2	4	
Schools	1	6	5	0	7	
Cotton mills	3	3	4	6	0	
Factories	50	24	73	28	27	
Other Industrial buildings	24	38	28	23	63	
Warehouses	52	64	27	27	20	
Garages	116	75	158	48	98	
Miscellaneous	1,321	1,134	991	894	879	
Total per annum	7,586	8,836	8,699	3,439	5,130	33,690
Total building value $ (million)	35.210	65.287	52.258	25.455	35.544	213.753

Despite the high cost of land, the speculative builders profited from cheap labour, low-priced building materials and rapidly increasing population, and always got a higher financial return by selling or leasing the housing estates. Shanghai's real-estate market had been kept at a high level. Real estate transaction was

placed at $90 million in 1930, and it reached a peak of $180 million in 1931. Although, in 1932, the transaction dropped to $25.2 millions because of the January Twelfth Event, when the Japanese naval forces attacked Shanghai. The total jumped back to $43 million next year. In Tientsin, the estimated total value of property in the British area in 1938 was 120 million standard silver for land and 200 million standard silver for buildings.

In the early 1930s Shanghai covered 332 square miles with a population of about three million, including 12.5 square miles under the foreign administration. By 1934 it became the fifth greatest city in the world. It was a dense city. The population increased from three million of 1932 to five million in 1937 because of the continuous influx of refugees from the areas of Japanese occupation. In 1932, the population density of Greater Shanghai was three times that of Greater London. By 1937, following the Sino-Japanese War, this density was five times that of London.[4] In 1928 Tientsin also became a Special Municipality of the central government. By 1936, Tientsin covered 62 square miles, in which 2.8 square miles were foreign concessions (British, French, Japanese and Italian concessions).

6.2 American Influences

In the 1930s, China enjoyed relative stability at a time when the industrial countries were experiencing acute difficulties. The volume of foreign trade increased by over 20 per cent between

1930 and 1931. Beginning in 1933 the effects of the world economic crisis reached China. Despite the onset of this crisis, the building boom of the 1920s continued through the first half of the next decade. The economic advantages of a semi-colonial society were seen to be better adjusted to modern social conditions.

Although the great depression and the Japanese invasion to Manchuria badly hurt Shanghai's and Tientsin's trade, the growth of foreign Shanghai and foreign Tientsin, on the contrary, benefited from the world economic situation and from the shrinking of state power in China. Money continued to pour into the cities and encouraged the already powerful land market. In Shanghai in 1935, land prices were triple their level in 1927.[5] Shanghai boasted the most expensive land in the world and the world's tallest buildings outside New York.

Until the 1920s, the British in China had been dependent on Britain for architectural style and talent, but then American schools of architecture began to influence architecture in Shanghai and Tientsin to a much greater extent. American culture entered the every-day life of the European community in the treaty ports. In 1935 in the eighteen foreign-film cinemas in Shanghai, 333 of 378 imported foreign pictures were made in Hollywood. They depicted a glamorous way of life set in the skyscrapers of New York,or in light and bright Spanish-style villas of California. Jazz tunes flew in night-clubs. American investment in Shanghai increased to £20 million in 1931 to the

third place behind Britain and Japan. The influence of American architecture could be felt in the work of Palmer & Turner and other British architectural offices.

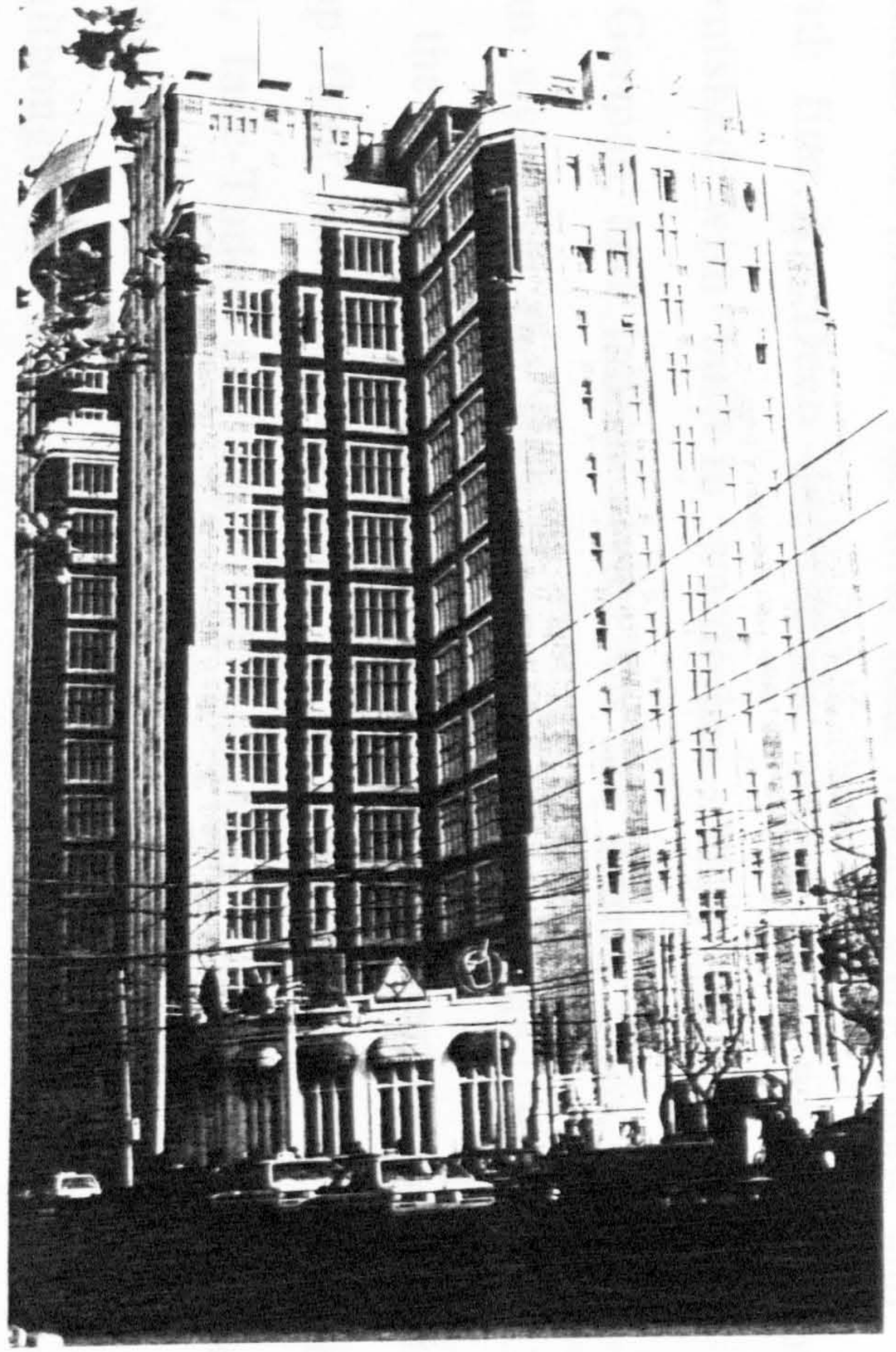
The traditional British values began changing in this period. The British architects schooled in the academic tradition now believed that new directions must be pursued if they were to retain their vitality. Instead of the avant-garde International Style, the Art Deco style was favoured by British clients and architects in Shanghai. Art Deco modern architecture, which was developed from the Paris Exposition des Arts Décoratif of 1925, remained relatively more classical in inspiration than revolutionary avant-garde modernism. Widespread application of this approach to modern architecture occurred in the commercial sphere, most notably in high-rise design, in which Palmer & Turner sustained their unrivalled leadership. In fact, in the 1920s most British architects were not very well aware of continental development of a distinctive and "modern" architecture after the European War. What inspiration British architects had was drawn more from American models.

The Cathay Mansions, [6-5] built between 1925 and 1929, was a wonderful Shanghai version of the Chicago School of architecture by Palmer & Turner. This sophisticated design achieved a high level, in which British traditional architecture was renewed by combination with American modern architecture. Bound by eclectic elements derived from historical Tudor style, it asked to be accepted on its own aesthetic explanation of geometry and

functionalism. It is steel-framed and thirteen storeys high with brown brick finishing. Crenelated parapets, quatrefoil ornaments, large mullioned windows and the treatment of the corners give the building a strong Tudor air. Yet it offered the British residents in Shanghai the American way of life. Suites were rented already furnished and with central heating. Bedrooms came equipped with Irish linen sheets monogrammed by hand and bathrooms were tiled in black and white.

The most imposing structure of 1929 was Palmer & Turner's immense Cathay Hotel. [6-6] If Palmer & Turner still retained some English historical reference in the design for the Cathay Mansions, they shifted speedily to the American idioms in the Cathay Hotel. Although neither of these designs is strictly a modern high-rise building, both appeal to the traditional relation with historicism, through which the British clients chose to demonstrate the quality, success and wealth of their business.

The building reflected the functional structure of the Chicago School and the dynamism of the American scene. It borrows two typical forms of Chicago architecture: the tall office block and the massive loft building. It occupies the triangular block between Nanking Road and Jinkee Road. The two slab wings along the streets meet at the Bund in a grandiloquent thirteen-storeyed Italian campanile, which is easily recognised by its nineteen-metre green copper pyramid. It gave the hotel the distinction of being the tallest building not only in Shanghai, but also in China at the time of completion.



[6-5] Cathay Mansions, 1925—29, by Palmer & Turner, now Jing Jiang Hotel, 59 South Mao Ming Road, Shanghai. (left)

[6-6] Cathay Hotel, 1926-28, by Palmer & Turner, now Peace Hotel, East Zhang-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (right)

American influences are emphasised in the design of the whole building, and in the details. The building's pyramidal crown recalls the tenth-century campanile of San Marco in Venice (rebuilt in 1911), but the inspiration for using this terminating feature for business totems came from the skyscrapers of New York and Chicago. Many subsequent echoes of the San Marco campanile could be seen in nineteenth- and twentieth-century New York and Chicago, from the Montgomery Ward Building (1897—99) to the Stranss Building (1924). The pyramidal crown became one of symbols of American commercial architecture. The shaft of the Cathay Hotel is a uniform array of repetitive Chicago windows expressing the character of the steel frame.

The Cathay Hotel was also built as an individual landmark — a conspicuous monument to its corporate client, Victor Sassoon. Its skyline became associated in people's minds with foreign Shanghai itself. It was famous throughout the Far East for setting new standards of luxury. The first four floors were shops and offices with fine Art Deco decorations, above them were the hotel suites furnished with built-in wardrobes. They were decorated in Spanish, German and Indian styles on the fourth floor, French and Italian styles on the fifth floor, and Chinese and English styles on the sixth floor. The manager's living quarters and office on the top floor was as British as the British could make it, with conffered, fake-Tudor ceilings, teak panelling and fluted pilasters. In its bathrooms are the ponderous British fixtures of London hotels. Although the building has been altered over the years, its former magnificence is not diminished.

In contrast to Europe, where eclectic design was represented as a legacy of the past, in Shanghai it seemed to contribute to progress and a new sense of urbanity and internationalism. The Cathay Hotel gave palpable form to the optimism of a growing economy and records an era experiencing rapid change. The building seemed the very essence of foreign Shanghai in the 1920s offering potent associative links to American architecture through massive repetition and soaring silhouette.

The twin skyscrapers, Hamilton House and Metropole Hotel, were both designed by Palmer & Turner and built in 1931 and 1934. [6-7] The verticality and message of power are expressed through the use of simplified Gothic elements. The heavy towers are supported by stylised flying buttresses. The new idea in the design is the attempt at contributing to the crowded city an urban space. The buildings curve towards each other to form a semicircular plaza that is related to the entrances to absorb the large number of people who enter and leave the buildings. This design was the first experiment in Shanghai with building high-rise in twins, and was meant to improve the urban environment. The architects' good intentions to create a civic space were substantially limited by the given conditions. The plaza is placed in a deep valley of tall buildings, lacking sunlight, and was spoilt further by the new ten-storeyed General Police Station built in the following year.

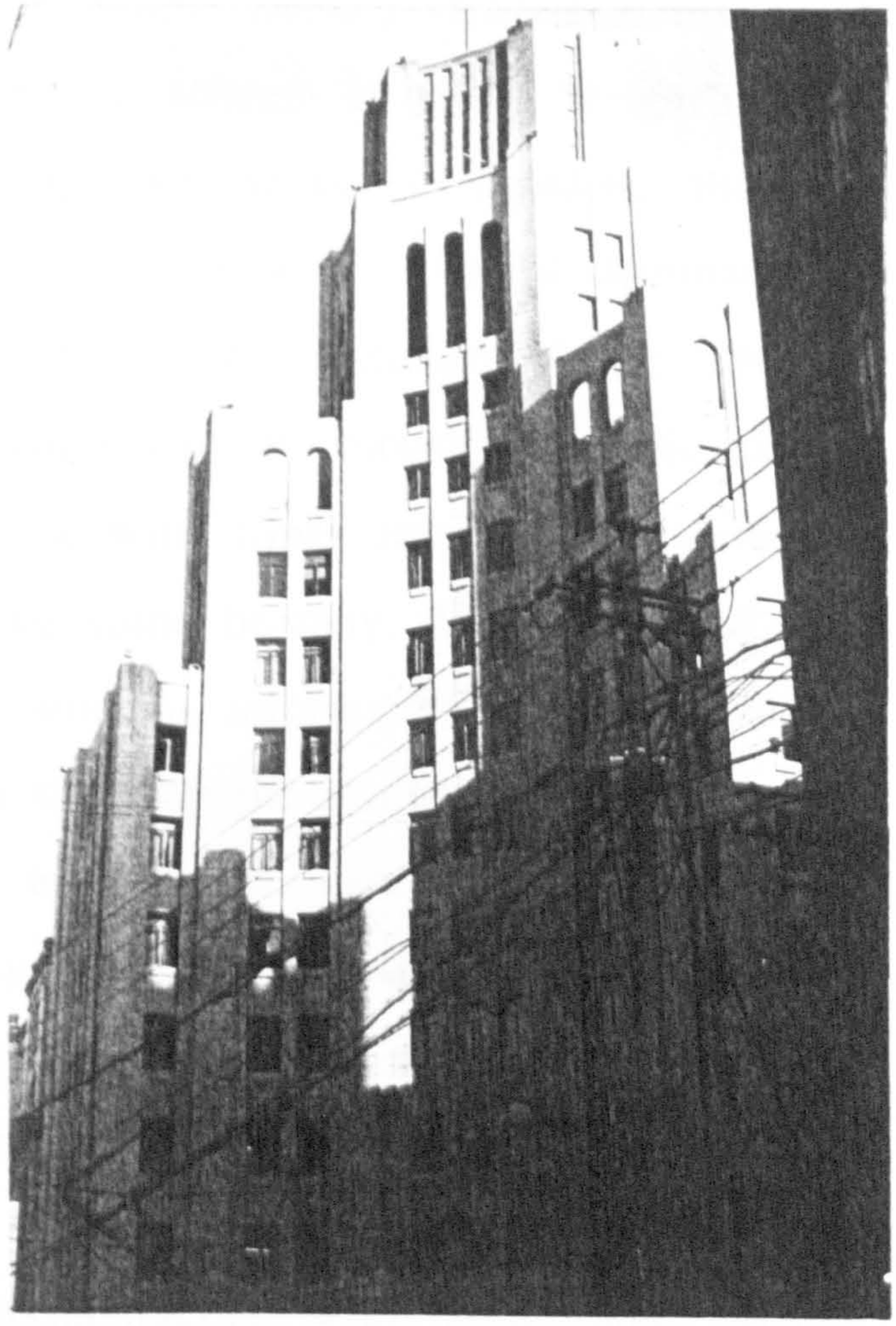
The New Asia Hotel also mirrored the American influence on

Shanghai's modern architecture, but it represented a significant departure from historicism and an attempt to build for the twentieth century a "non-historical" style. [6-8] It is based on Art Nouveau and the Chicago School, which fuses in an appealingly chic stylisation. The massive building block is inscribed by sunken vertical window panels. This is a modernist vernacular idiom of the 1920s and 1930s. The architect manifested a fine sense of structure and material and an understanding of architectural rhythms so that the tower seems to rise naturally from the building.

At the time the British architects in China preferred to look across the Pacific for ideas and inspirations rather than their own country. The American influences naturally led British architects to Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright had a profound effect on the architectural development of both European and American continents in the twentieth century. Despite his significant achievement, Wright received little publicity in architectural circles in China before the 1930s. His influence on British architecture in China arrived with the buildings of the Beth Aharon Synagogue and the Royal Asiatic Society built in Shanghai by Palmer & Turner in 1931 and 1934. These buildings are characterised by geometrical themes and the emphasis of the arched entrances in the style of Wright's Dana House at Springfield, Illinois and the Larkin Building at Buffalo. It is said that Wright was influenced by Japanese architecture and Taoist philosophy. It is interesting to see Palmer & Turner used Taoist symbols in the design for the Royal Asiatic Society.

[6-7] Metropolis Hotel, 1934, by Palmer & Turner, now Xin Cheng Hotel, 180 Central Jiang Xi Road, Shanghai. (upper)

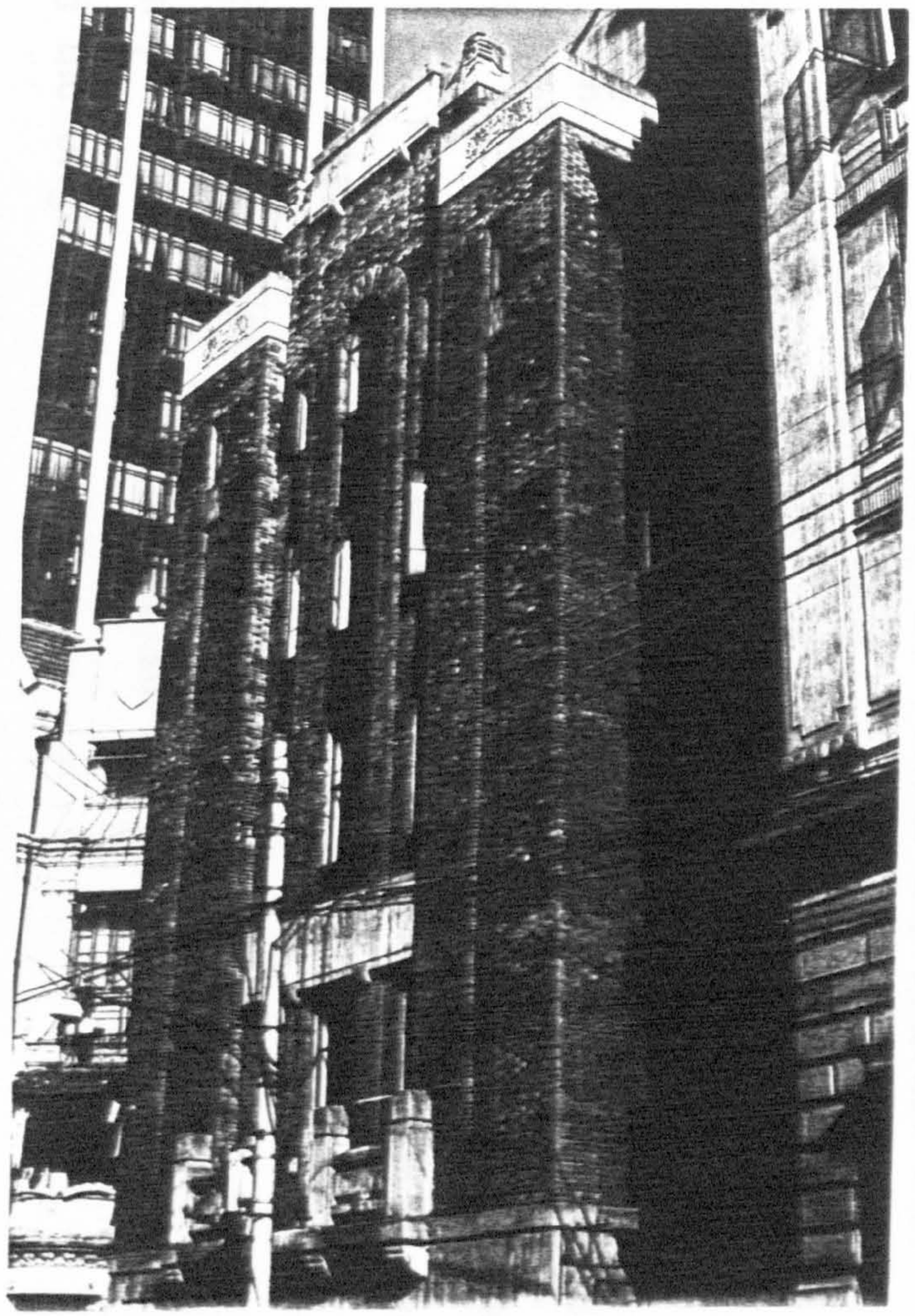
[6-8] New Asia Hotel, 1933, by British architect, 422 Tian Tong Road, Shanghai. (lower)



The building of the Royal Asiatic Society (RAS)demonstrates how the British architects made an attempt in using Wright's architectural language. [6-9] Like the Larkin Building, the RAS building is oriented inward. There was a central dominant space lit from above by a skylight and by artificial lighting. The stair-wells are located in the corners of the block. The cubic exterior is a purist monumental block with triple round-arched gates announced by a projecting stone balcony. The superficial resemblance to Wright's work is informative. Chinese Taoist motifs can been seen in the wrought ironwork of the windows and doors, and Chinese architectural details are employed sparingly on the balcony, beam heads, spandrel and parapet ornaments. The Taoist symbols are used to suggest the link with both Chinese architecture and Wright's designs.

There was a growing dissatisfaction with conservative British architecture, but the change did not appear until the 1930s when new architecture from continental Europe and America was introduced to meet the need of a more diverse and more complex society and economic circumstances. At this point modern architecture made its contribution felt. Palmer & Turner, designers of classical Shanghai, became converts to modern architecture. Their design for the Broadway Mansions in 1930 was a new landmark for British architecture as well as for foreign Shanghai. [6-10]

Unlike Chicago and New York, Shanghai did not have zoning codes. Shanghai introduced similar building regulations in



[6-9] Royal Asiatic Society Building, 1934, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Library Press, 20 Hu Qiu Road, Shanghai. (left)

[6-10] Broadway Mansions, 1930—34, by B. Flazer of Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Mansions, 250 North Su Zhou Road, Shanghai. (right)

the 1930s: a building in the Settlement with a height exceeding 84 feet or one and a half times the width of the road was required to be set or stepped back in varying ratios. These regulations were applied in the design for the Broadway Mansions. The building is 251.64-foot high, sixteen storeyed, like a smooth, planar cliff standing at the junction of the Soochow Creek and the Whangpoo. Commissioned by C. H. Arnhold, chairman of the Municipal Council, it was expected to challenge E. D. Sassoon's Cathay Hotel.

The Broadway Mansions are an early example of mixed development of hotel, offices and apartments. In the design, the architect, B. Flazer, expressed his aesthetic principle based on structure and function. Renouncing classical or any other historicism, the building depends for its impact on the volume of the building and the regular horizontal fenestration. The building is based on a rectangular plan with Y-shaped ends. The resulting building is rational in structure, and extends the external wall area of windows. Its striking elevations have a beneficial impact on the townscape. Without any classical or medieval termination at the top, the central tower is buttressed diagonally by ziggurat wings with symmetry and balance for each elevation to mark an important urban axis, holding the street line of the Bund over the river. It is the best example of the zigzag moderne in China in the 1930s. As Christopher Wren commented a few centuries earlier: "our English artists are dull enough at inventions but once a foreign pattern is set, they imitate so well that commonly they exceed the original."[6]

The skeletal frame of the Broadway Mansions is made of aluminium and steel. Aluminium was a new building material in the twentieth century. In 1932 cast aluminium spandrels were used in the Rockefeller Centre, New York, and in Britain in 1936, Gilbert Scott used aluminium in his Cambridge University Library for windows and doors. In both its architectural design and its structure, therefore, the Broadway Mansions was one of the more advanced designs in the world at that time. The building was renamed "Shanghai Mansions" in 1951.

The Bank of China Building in Shanghai is of signal importance in exemplifying the combination of Chinese tradition with Western modern architecture, which coupled the rise of Chinese neo-nationalism and American influences at the time. The restoration of a bureaucratic and military administration after 1927 drove China towards state capitalism. An important feature of Nanking politics was the re-establishment of a powerful state-run banking system. The Bank of China was one of four state-run banks, which derived its history as a government financial organisation from the Ta-Ch'ing Bank of 1905. When the board of the Bank came to the decision to replace its old Baronial Gothic building, it played with the same ideas as any other Western bank.

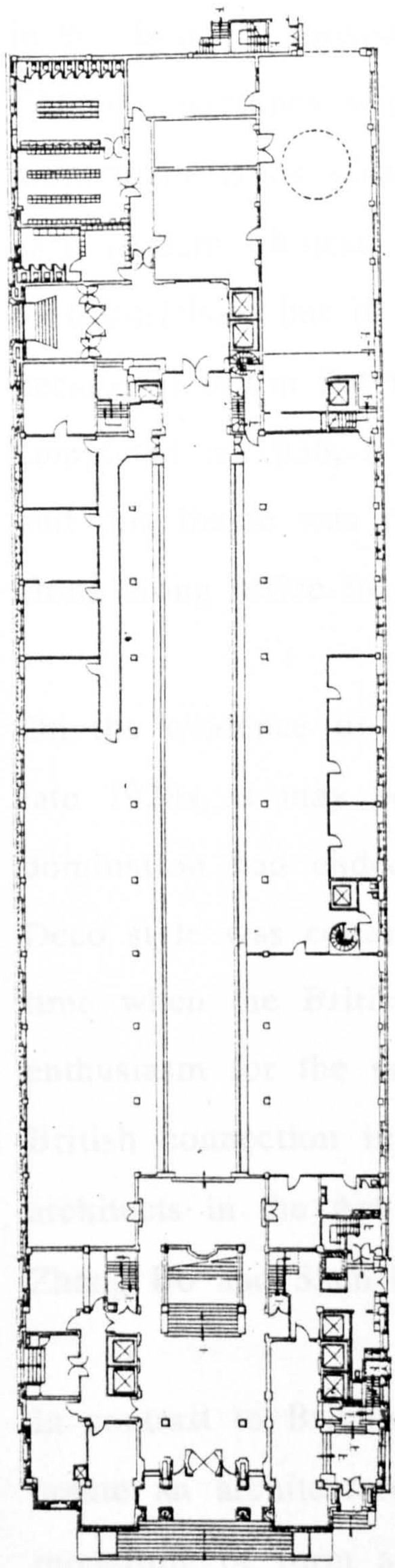
The initial design for the Bank was a 34-storeyed skyscraper, which was expected to be the highest outside North America, but this wish was not realised until half a century later when I. M. Pei built the Bank of China Tower at Hong Kong in 1989. This first

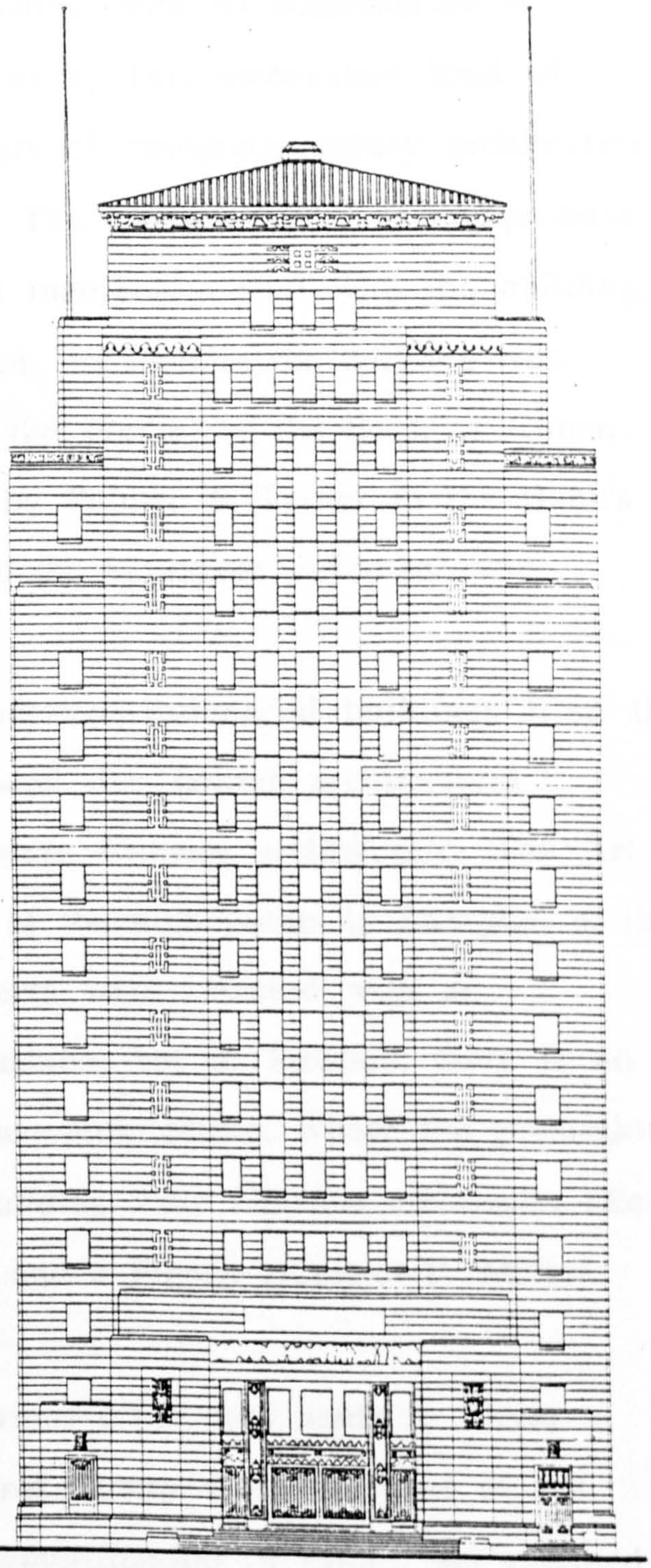
skyscraper proposal foundered on the objections of the Works Department of the Settlement, which was concerned with the safety of the neighbouring Cathay Hotel. After the commission transferred to Palmer & Turner, the building was reduced to a fifteen-storeyed tower with a four-storeyed block behind . Palmer & Turner had built four of the six banks in the Bund that were in the tradition of European institutional buildings, but this time the Bank of China wanted a building that would be understood as a modern version of Chinese architecture. By then, Palmer & Turner's experience in Chinese architecture did not extend beyond the Hong Kong Pavilion at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924 in Wembley, London, which was still in chinoiserie style.

The final design is credited to Lu Qian-shou, a Chinese architect, who had studied architecture in Britain before he worked for Palmer & Turner. Lu created a new and successful image of modern China in the Bank of China building. [6-11] Despite studying in Britain, Lu's Bank of China building satisfied the Harvard-educated governor of the Bank, T. V. Soong. Its powerful, massive tower, diminishing to a gentle pyramidal roof, shows a synthetic form of stylisation, mediating between American Art Deco skyscrapers and Chinese tradition.

The Bank of China became the first and only building in the Bund designed by a Chinese architect. Breaking through the traditional imagination of Chinese architecture — horizontal divisions, exposed structure and polychromy, Lu still conveyed exactly the

[6-11] Bank of China, 1936, by Lu Qian-shou, Palmer & Turner, 23 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai.





Chinese feeling in the building through the use of Chinese architectural elements, such as windows, cornice, and entrance decoration. Juxtaposed with the conventional and classical banks in the Bund, it looked very distinct with its combination of Chinese overtones with modernism. This ambivalent kind of modernism is as clearly a part of twentieth-century architecture as a modern Chinese building. The Chinese roof is a compromise to historicism, but it does not incorporate well with the building, because it is too flat to be seen. As soon as the building was completed in 1936, it became the symbol of the Bank of China, and this theme was repeated by Palmer & Turner in the Bank's Hong Kong office in 1950 and the Singapore office in 1952.

On the evidence of many American-influenced buildings from the late 1920s, it may be concluded that British architectural domination had ended in modern Chinese architecture. The Art Deco style was certainly one of the high points in Shanghai at the time when the British architects were infected with an enthusiasm for the modern fashion, but in Tientsin, there is no British connection in Art Deco architecture, where the prestigious architects in the Art Deco building were Chinese architects, like Zhang Bo and Shen Li-yuan, and a French architect P. Muller.

In contrast to Britain, an obvious effort was made in China to create an architecture that broke away from the past in the modelling of form and the simplification of effect, yet retained some references to familiar traditions. In fact, in the 1930s the development of British architecture in Shanghai somehow

surpassed that in Britain. It is notable that monumental British buildings in the Art Deco style are to be found in Shanghai but not in England, and that the highest building designed by British architects was in China, instead of in Britain.

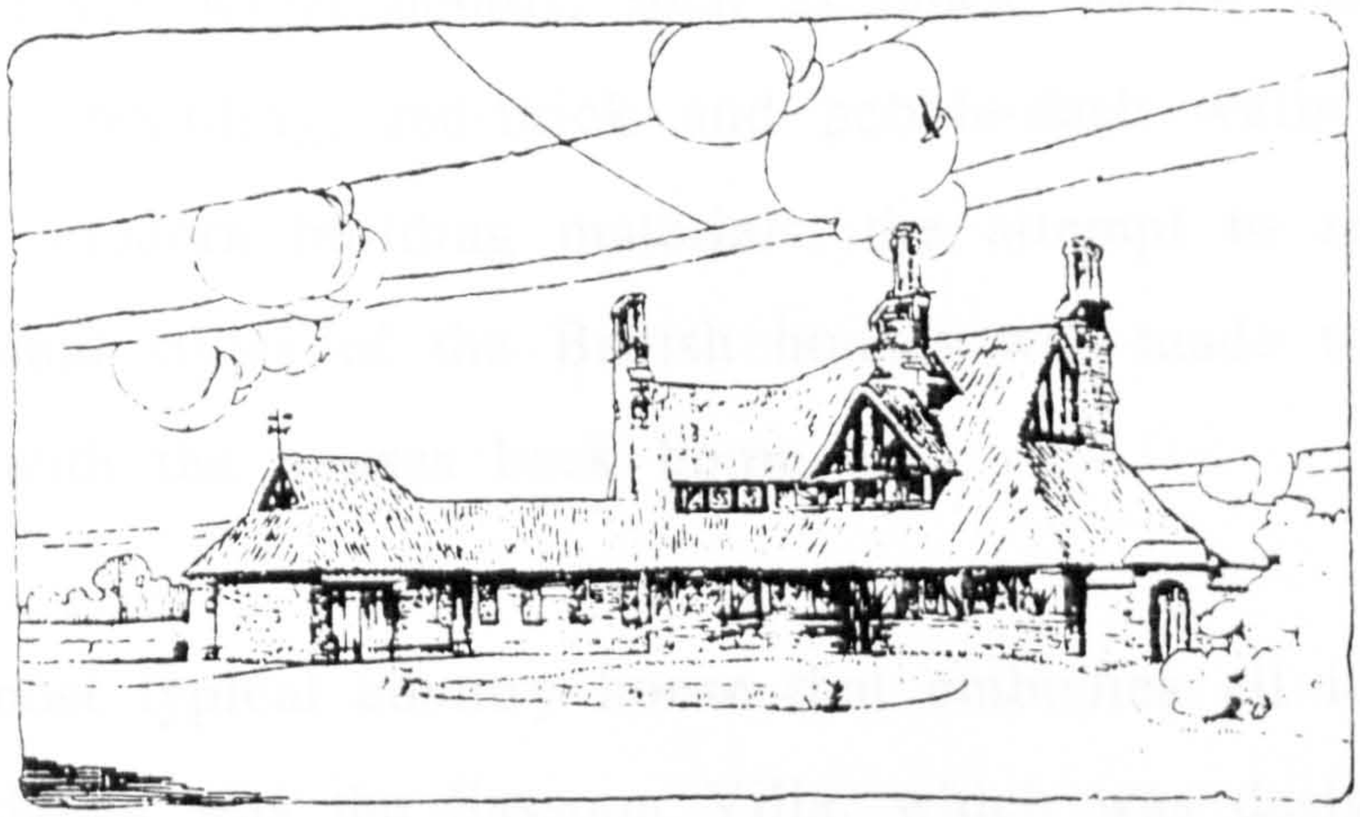
6.3 Reaction of Historicism

In Shanghai and Tientsin, as in Britain, historicism in domestic architecture was the norm, which has lasted until the 1940s. The British residents in China's treaty ports were loathe to change their old style of living. A house was always an Englishman's castle. He retained traditional forms to protect his old-fashioned way of life. Most house building had its sources in the rural or small village cottages and houses of England. Encouraged by British architectural magazines at the time, there was a domestic revival in British domestic architecture in China, in which British architects produced a quantity of private houses in Shanghai and Tientsin.

When public architecture vacillated between eclecticism and modernism, historical tradition became a vigorous force in the British domestic architecture of the 1930s. It used the styles and motifs of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England. This tendency had great impact on design in the suburbs. The popular "Stockbroker Tudor" and English cottage house filled the suburbs. [6-12] "It was the sort of thing a stockbroker might live in, with worm holes drilled into the wooden beams", recalled Sir William

Hayter of the British Consulate in Shanghai.[84] There were few houses in modernist style built by the British. The attraction of the Tudor style to British architects and clients was precisely because it was English in its essence.

[6-12] House, 1930s, By Palmer & Turner, Hong Qiao Road, Shanghai.



The building of the houses between the wars for upper and upper-middle classes reached its peak in the decade between 1927 and 1937, and this spate of house construction expanded the cities into the suburbs with alarming voracity. Some 1.6 million square-metre architectural areas of detached and semi-detached houses were built in the International Settlement and the French Concession.[85] The rising business classes wished their houses to embody their culture and style, the characteristics they themselves often lacked. The houses expressed a degree of individuality, but were not too different from those in the London suburbs. There was a rejection of the uncompromising images of the Italian villa and modernist-style houses. The predominant style favoured by the British clients was an

informal amalgam of the least attractive materials and building devices known in the past.

The British houses of this period fell into the picturesque "cottage style" that had origins in Arts and Crafts architecture and the Edwardian rural revival. This cottage style was typified by English vernacular details, such as mock beams, lattice windows, weather boarding, red-brick and pebble-dash walls. Despite the use of modern building materials, the attempt to retain the traditional styles of the British houses was made to maintain links with the houses back home.

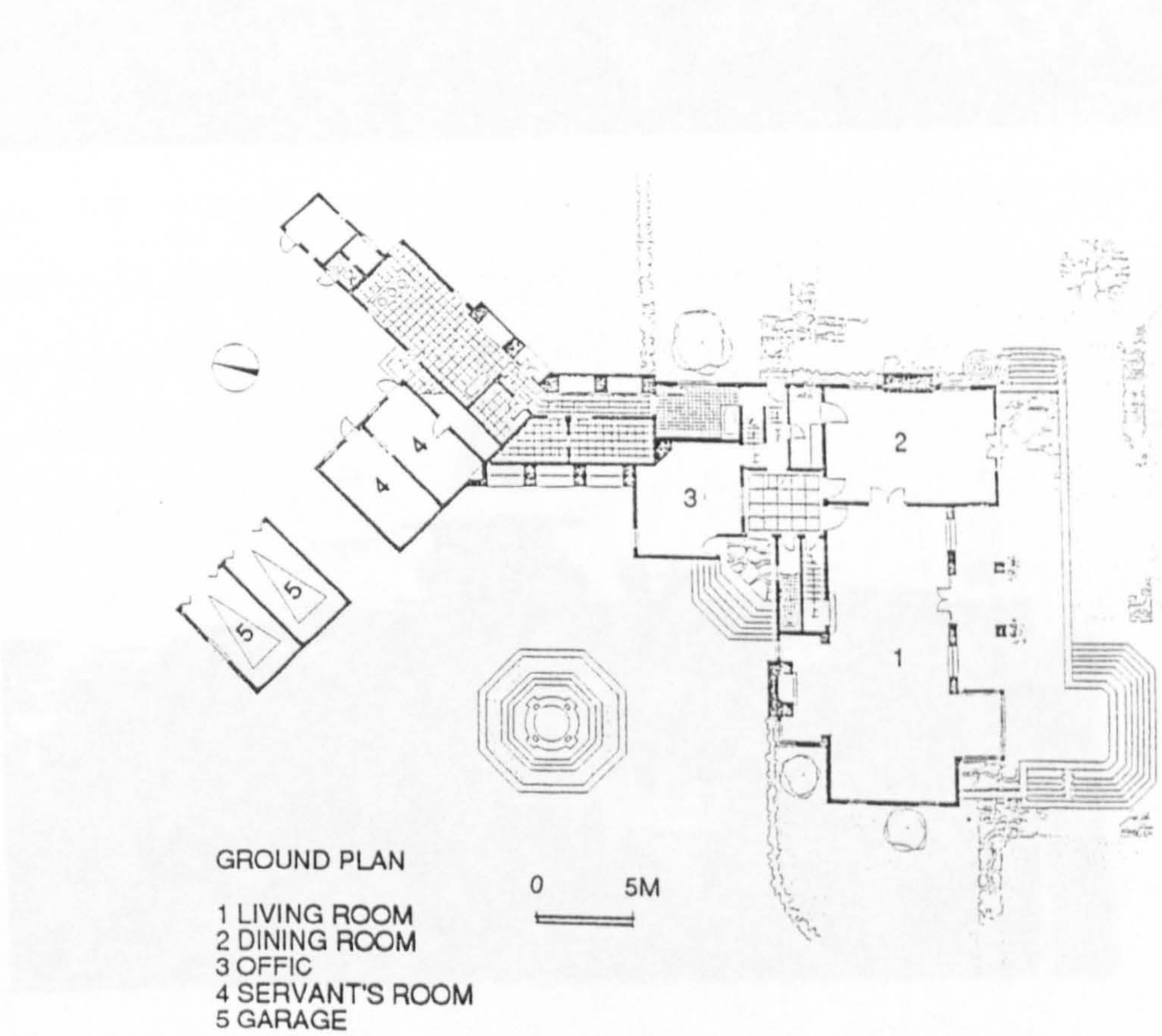
The most typical country house that embodies all ideals of an Englishman was the Sassoon Villa, which was designed by Palmer & Turner for Victor Sassoon in 1932. [6-13] The house is bound architecturally together with gardens, surrounded by a mass of woods, wide lawns resplendent in the richest of greens extend before the downstairs rooms. The well-pavilion becomes the centre of the axes of the buildings. The architect employed the English vernacular. Elements of style include decorative half-timbering gables, tall chimneys, oriel windows of leaded lights, and interior timbering walls and ceilings. There are many fragments derived from masterpieces of British architects, such as Robert Weir Schultz's butterfly-plan for the How Green at Kent (1904—05) and Edwin Landseer Lutyens' great timber and leaded-light oriel window for the Deanery Garden at Sonning (1899—1901). The hipped-dormer roofs of the Sassoon Villa are typical versions of William Butterfield's designs.

It is interesting that its mock-Tudor style concealed a free plan. Interior space is not as closed off as in the traditional English house, and there are so many openings in a room. The hall is not located in the centre of the plan. It is placed at the end of the house, opening onto gardens on three sides and includes an open living room space. The hall is double-storeyed, half-timbered in the Tudor style, and furnished in the Arts and Crafts style. Like continental European houses, the communication from room to room is provided by doors rather than through passages. The communication between the dining room and the kitchen is too distant and inconvenient. This spacious house has only one bedroom with a drawing room. Like many British businessmen in China, Victor Sassoon was not married.

There was an attempt to combine traditional English house with modern architecture, although some of design decisions are not very comfortable. It seems difficult for the architect to introduce a modern and open space into the traditional English house. In the late "Cultural Revolution" (1974—1976), the Sassoon Villa was used by Jiang Qing, Mao's widow, until 1976 when she was arrested by Marshal Ye Jian-yin. The house is now a VIP hotel.

The English medieval mode was spoken of at times as the "Early English" style, meaning the imitation of Tudor manor houses with plenty of half-timbering. It was always used for large country houses. The house at 315 Xin Hua Road is another typical 1930s mock-Tudor house in Shanghai. [6-14] It shows the exuberant

[6-13] Sassoon Villa, 1932, by Palmer & Turner, now Long Bai Hotel, 2409 Hong Qiao Road, Shanghai.

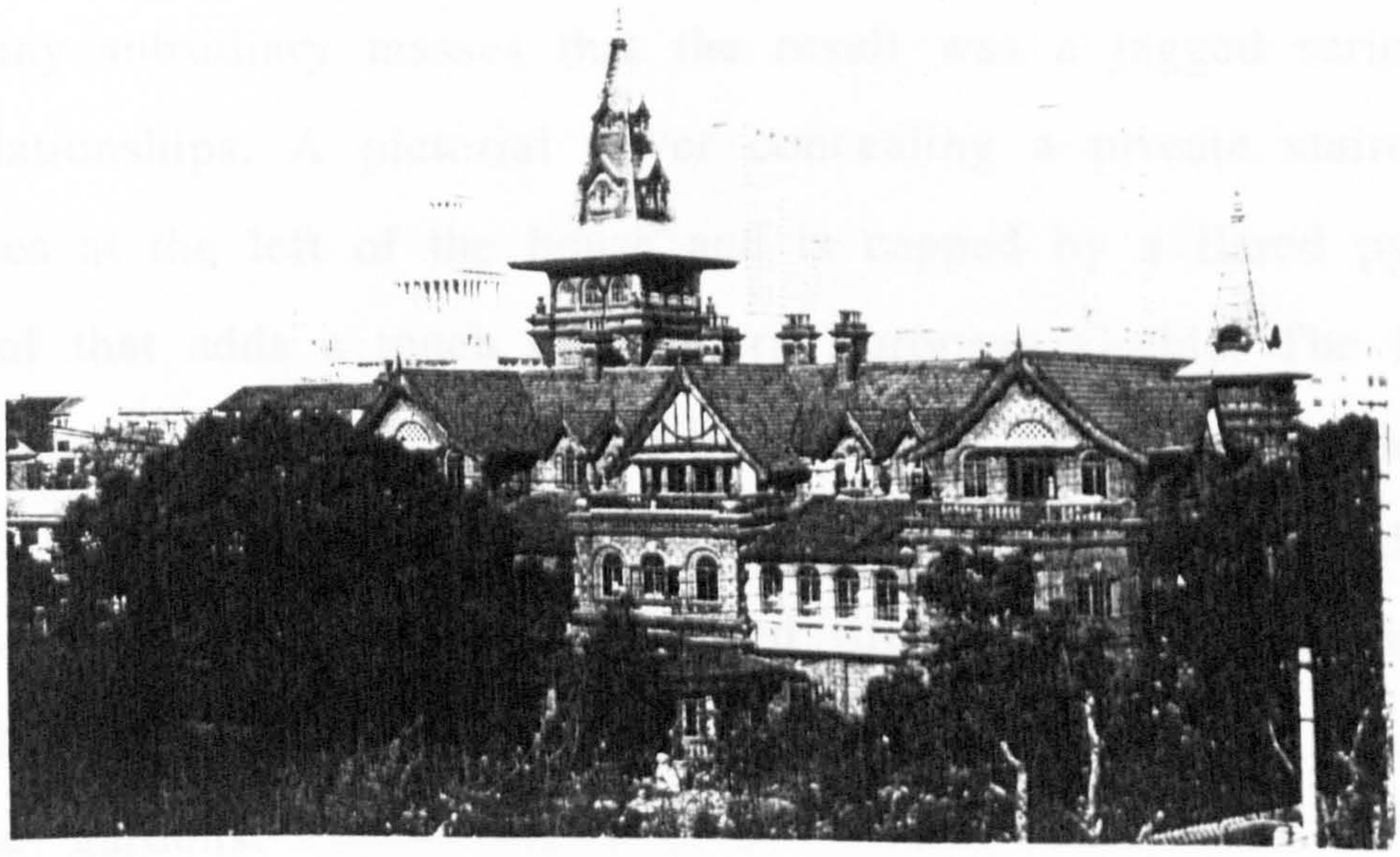


GROUND PLAN

1 LIVING ROOM
2 DINING ROOM
3 OFFIC
4 SERVANT'S ROOM
5 GARAGE

[6-14] House, 1930s, architect unknown, 315 Xin Hua Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-15] Moller House, 1936, architect unknown, now Shanghai Committee of the Communist Youth League, 30 South Shanxi Road, Shanghai. (lower)



mock-Tudor inspiration, but the house is particularly distinctive for its modern improvement to the details. The windows are casement with small lights. The landscaping around the house is informal and meant to be part of the dwelling, hugging the building to the natural environment. The tall chimneys are treated as a distinct architectural feature in the Jacobean manner. Modern metalwork on the windows and balconies seems cold and incoherent in the context of timber-framed walls of an English traditional house. The themes of detached houses in traditional styles were various. The ideas seemed to have been interchangeable from client to client, architect to architect.

The combination of lavish treatment and historical confusion was evident in the Moller House, Shanghai. [6-15] It is said that Eric Moller came alone to Shanghai with empty pockets but soon made his fortunes from horse racing. His house was built around 1936. An evident desire for symmetry appeared in the flanking gables that balanced each other, but these were set upon by so many subsidiary masses that the result was a jagged series of relationships. A pictorial tower concealing a private staircase rises at the left of the house and is capped by a flared pyramid roof that adds a touch of northern European Gothic. The Palladian window is flanked by single-light arched window. The decorative brickwork echoes the Aesthetic Movement. The walls and the gateway are colourful with glazed tile ornaments. Chinese stone lions guard the gateway, and Japanese stone lanterns decorate the gardens.

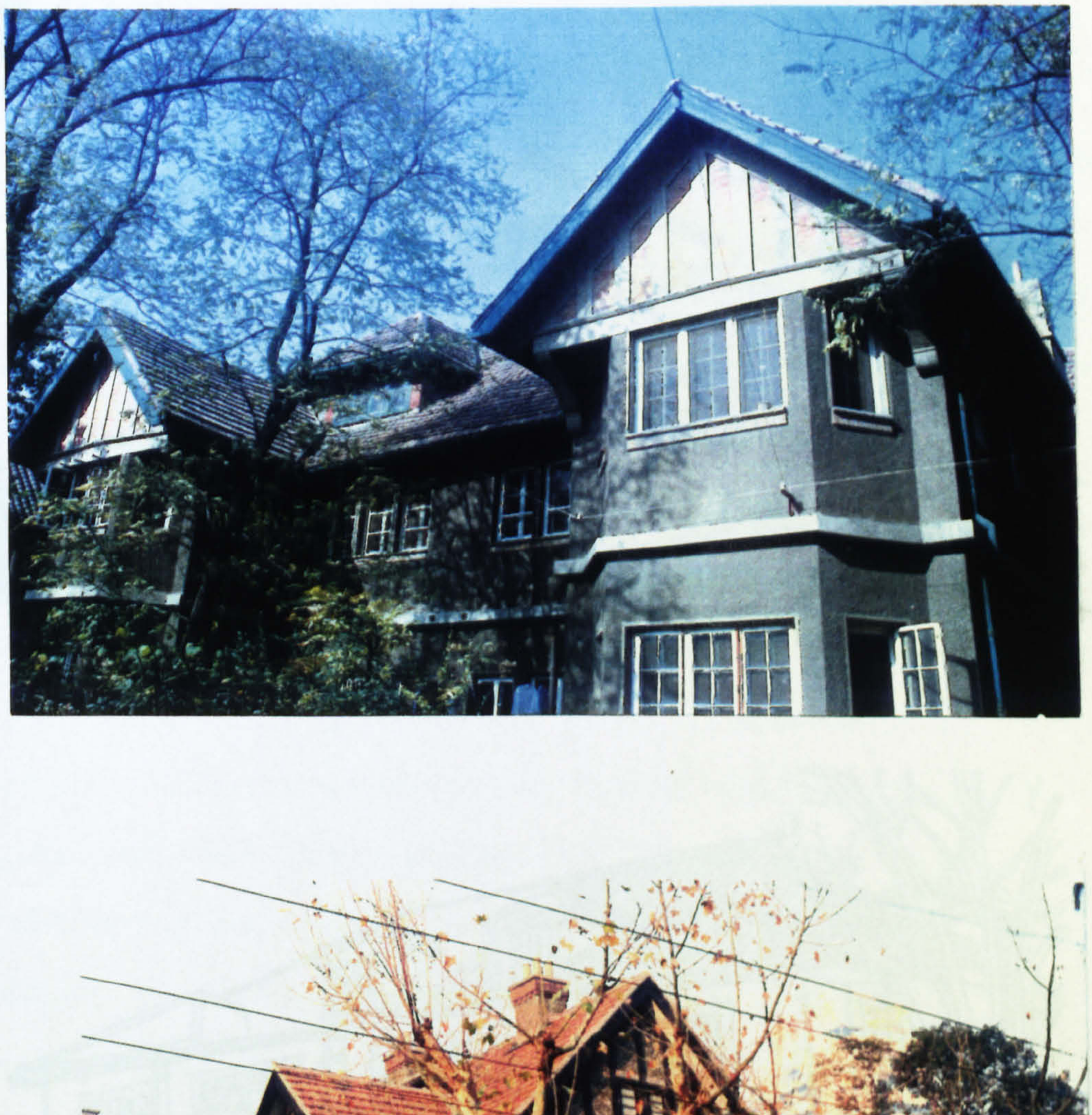
This picturesque image, it is said, was evoked by the dream of Moller's daughter about a fairy-tale world. The style of the house recalls the American colonial houses of the late nineteenth century. Architectural details and features range from English, Italian, Northern European and Chinese styles. Moller himself may have been involved with the design for his house. The architectural design revels in conflict and even clashes. However, it was not without qualities of vitality and gaiety, and perhaps in all its confusion exerted a certain charm.

The Arts and Crafts stylewas also a favoured domestic style for the British residents in China, since it provided more freedom to adapt the vernacular. Charles Francis Voysey and Edward Lutyens's neo-vernacular country houses were succeeding Norman Shaw's Queen Anne style. The British architects now had their ideas and expressions inspired by the masterpieces of Arts and Crafts architecture. Domestic buildings built in Britain, and British Shanghai and Tientsin varied little: rectangular in plan, two main rooms with kitchen downstairs: and two bedrooms with separate toilet and bathroom upstairs. The horizontal windows, sweeping gables, pebble-dash or brick walls typify some of the Shanghai and Tientsin suburbs.

The semi-detached house at 12 Mu Nan Road, Tientsin is closely associated with the British Arts and Crafts style. [6-16] Its two-storeyed vertical bay was possibly the most popular feature of inter-war Edwardian speculative housing. The stone-mullion

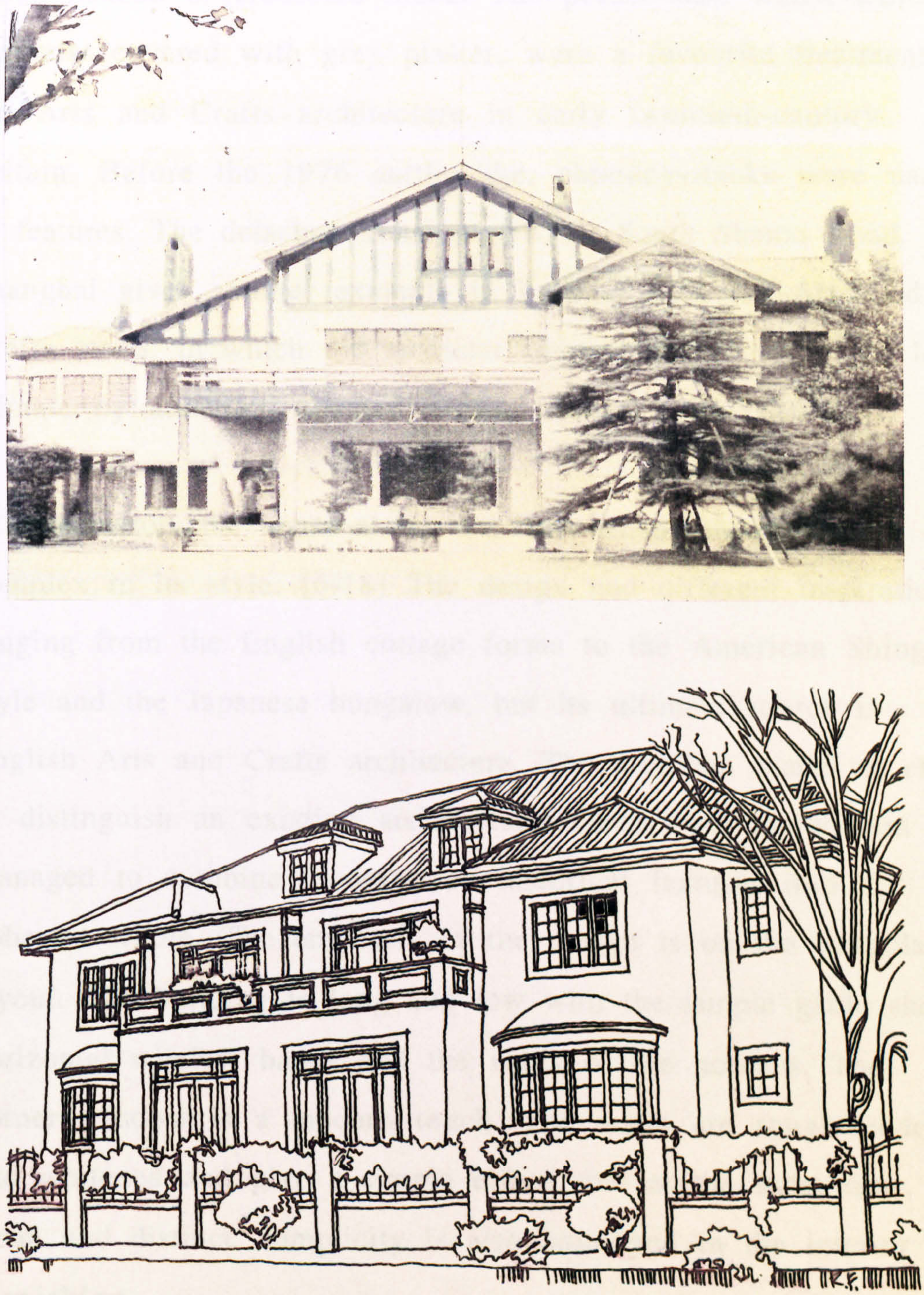
[6-16] Semi-detached house, 1920s, architect unknown, 12 Mu Nan Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[6-17] Detached house, 1930s, architect unknown, 82 South Shanxi Road, Shanghai. (lower)



[6-18] House, 1930s, architect unknown, 87 Wu Xing Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-19] Semi-detached house, 1930s, architect unknown, 16 Machang Road, Tientsin. (lower)



windows with wooden casements and red-brick sills are variations of Voysey's house designs. On the gable-end, the beams and brickwork are left exposed. The Jacobethan motif is enlivened by new building materials. The barge board is painted green instead of creosoted black. The pebble-dash walls, which are now covered with grey plaster, were a favourite treatment of the Arts and Crafts architecture in early twentieth-century Britain. Before the 1976 earthquake, chimney-stacks were used as features. The detached house at No. 82 South Shanxi Road, Shanghai gives another example in keeping with the Arts and Crafts mood, in which the architect adapted the house to the local climate by attaching a small arched verandah. [6-17]

In comparison, the house at 87 Wu Xing Road, Shanghai is complex in its style. [6-18] The design had different inspirations, ranging from the English cottage forms to the American Shingle style and the Japanese bungalow, but its ultimate source is English Arts and Crafts architecture. The architect made an effort to distinguish an existing architectural form from historicism and managed to combine modern and historical features into a coherent whole. The emphasis of the design is on the irregular layout. The building is long and low with the simple gable shape, horizontal window bands and the voids of the porches. The corner window is a modern touch. The walls are rough-rendered and whitened and give a simple effect, and at the same time, are clean and distinct. Simplicity is also employed in the interior and furnishing.

The classical style was also one of favourite domestic styles for the British, which recurred throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. A mature and self-confident example of neo-Georgian domestic architecture is the house at 16 Machang Road, Tientsin. [6-19] It has a symmetrical plan and bow windows which is a vestige of Ernest Newton's Luckley in Berkshire (1907). A fusion of classical style with the Arts and Crafts can be seen in the three-storeyed terraced houses in South Shanxi Road, Shanghai. [6-20] The architect demonstrated a free approach of Arts and Crafts architecture to the classical style. The Arts and Crafts features are given by the sweeping roof, the brick dressing, diaper carving and so on, but the Palladian window on the gable, and the cornice at the first level are typical of classicism. This design recalls Reginald Blomfield's semi-detached houses in Frognal (1892).

In the late 1930s, a new domestic style, incorporating Spanish colonial revival influences, reached Shanghai and Tientsin, providing a source for British suburban residences. The so-called Spanish colonial revival, which developed in southern California, America, now enjoyed its greatest period of popularity in Shanghai and Tientsin. A typical English version of this Los Angle style is the house at 45 Fen Yang Road, Shanghai. [6-21] The architectural features include those derived from Italianate and Spanish styles, such as scalloped parapets above the front entrances, white stucco walls contrasting with the red tile roofing and decorative machicolation. The butterfly-plan is employed, which creates more interesting spaces. The garden frontage is

[6-20] Semi-detached house, 1930s, architect unknown, 10-12, 188th Lane, South Shanxi Road, Shanghai. (upper)
[6-21] House, 1932, architect unknown, now Shanghai Customs School, 45 Fen Yang Road, Shanghai. (lower)

composed by Palladian windows, arcades, and balconies with ironworks. The house shows the typical compromise between the practicality of English houses and the romanticism of American domestic architecture.

The private houses played an important role in the dissemination of the modern movement in Europe but they did little to advance modernism in Shanghai and Tientsin. Most British people were disinclined to abandon the English idea of the "house" for "a machine for living in". Many 1930s housing estates were the combined efforts of architects and speculative developers. Speculative housing was built in a profusion of mostly unappealing motifs, from the Tudor to the Spanish styles, but with only rare reference to the modern movement.

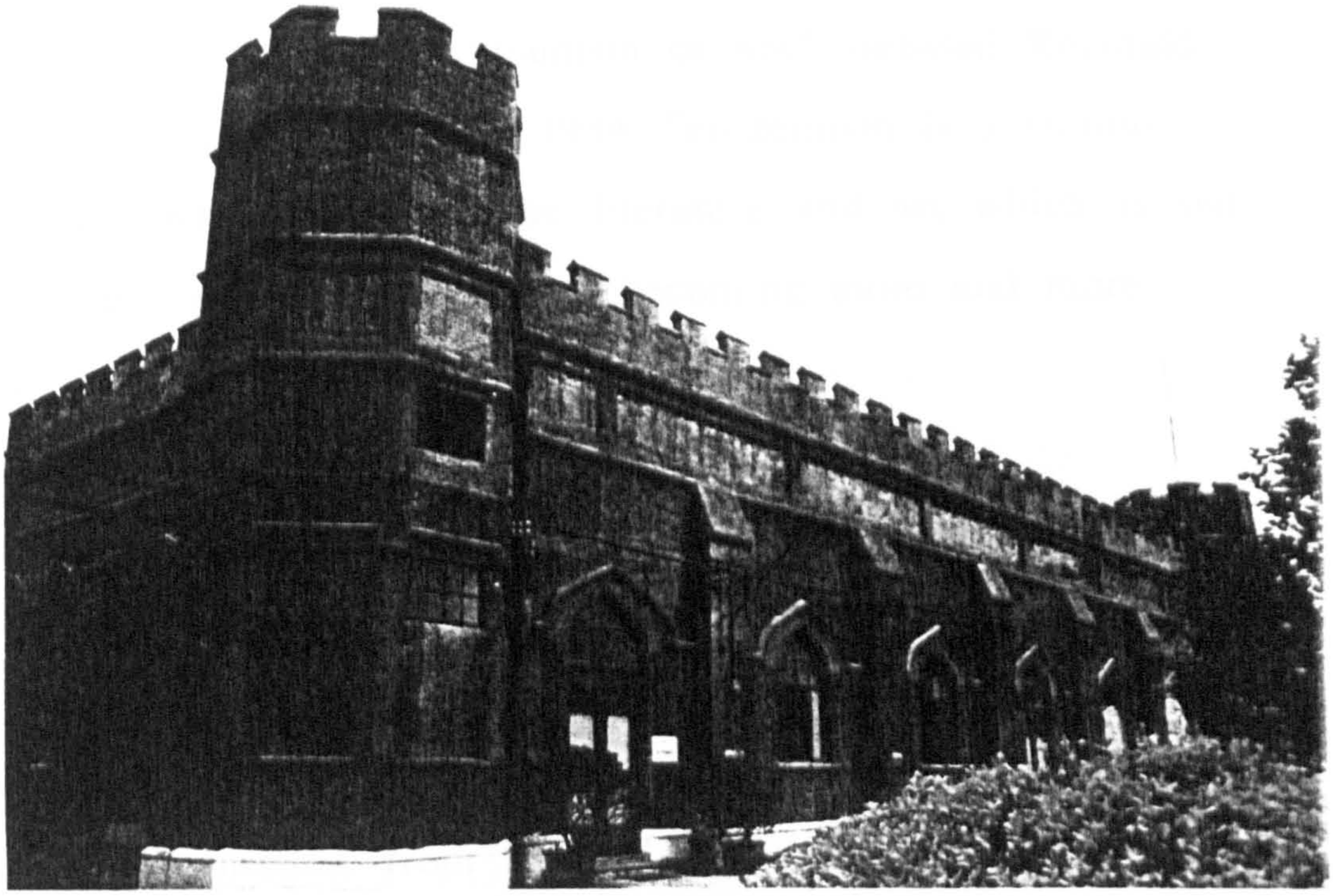
Public and industrial buildings in Shanghai also progressed towards a historical derivative kind of design. The extensions of the Shanghai Waterworks, which were built between 1921 and 1928, took the historical romanticising a step further. [6-22] The Shanghai Waterworks company was incorporated in England in 1880 and formally opened in Shanghai in 1883. The source of the supply was from the Whaongpoo River. The original plant was designed to supply three million gallons per day. By the 1930s the plant had capacity of meeting a demand of over seventy million gallons.

The treatment of the waterworks as a medieval castle building is one of the architectural wonders of Shanghai. It was the British

way to cloak the industrial purpose through the application of a historical form. The bare brick walls are strengthened with external buttresses between the windows, while The polychrome brickwork reflects the Victorian taste of architecture. The corrugated iron roof is hidden by high crenelated parapets, and the iron casement window are framed in the Tudor arches.

Another example of historicism is the Shanghai Race Club, built in 1934. [6-23] R. E. Moorhead, the architect, used the Baroque style in an individualistic way, influenced possibly by Alexander Thomson's Caledonia Road Church, Glasgow. A large rectangular campanile soars from the rusticated base, surmounted by a four-sided clock and an unorthodox pavilion, which recalls Thomson's earlier sketch design for the Caledonia Road Church tower. A large room with pediment and curved buttresses announces the entrance. An unusual feature in this classical design is the stepped windows on the west elevation that suggest the staircase behind. The building is a loosely eclectic mixture of the English Renaissance and classical styles. The racecourse was transformed into public gardens after 1950. The building is now used for the Municipal Library.

Historicism characterised British architecture in China until the 1930s, which was coincident with the British reaction against European modernism. The modernist tendency to reduce all forms to abstraction and its essential lack of monumentality made it unsatisfactory to represent the ideology of the old British Empire. Typical mainstream opinion on modernism in Britain was



[6-22] No.3 Workshop, Shanghai Municipal Waterworks, 1928, by the Department of Works, Shanghai, now Shanghai Yang Shu Pu Waterworks, 830 Yang Shu Pu Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-23] Shanghai Race Club, 1934, by R. E. Moorhead, now Shanghai Municipal Library, 329 West Nanking Road, Shanghai. (lower)

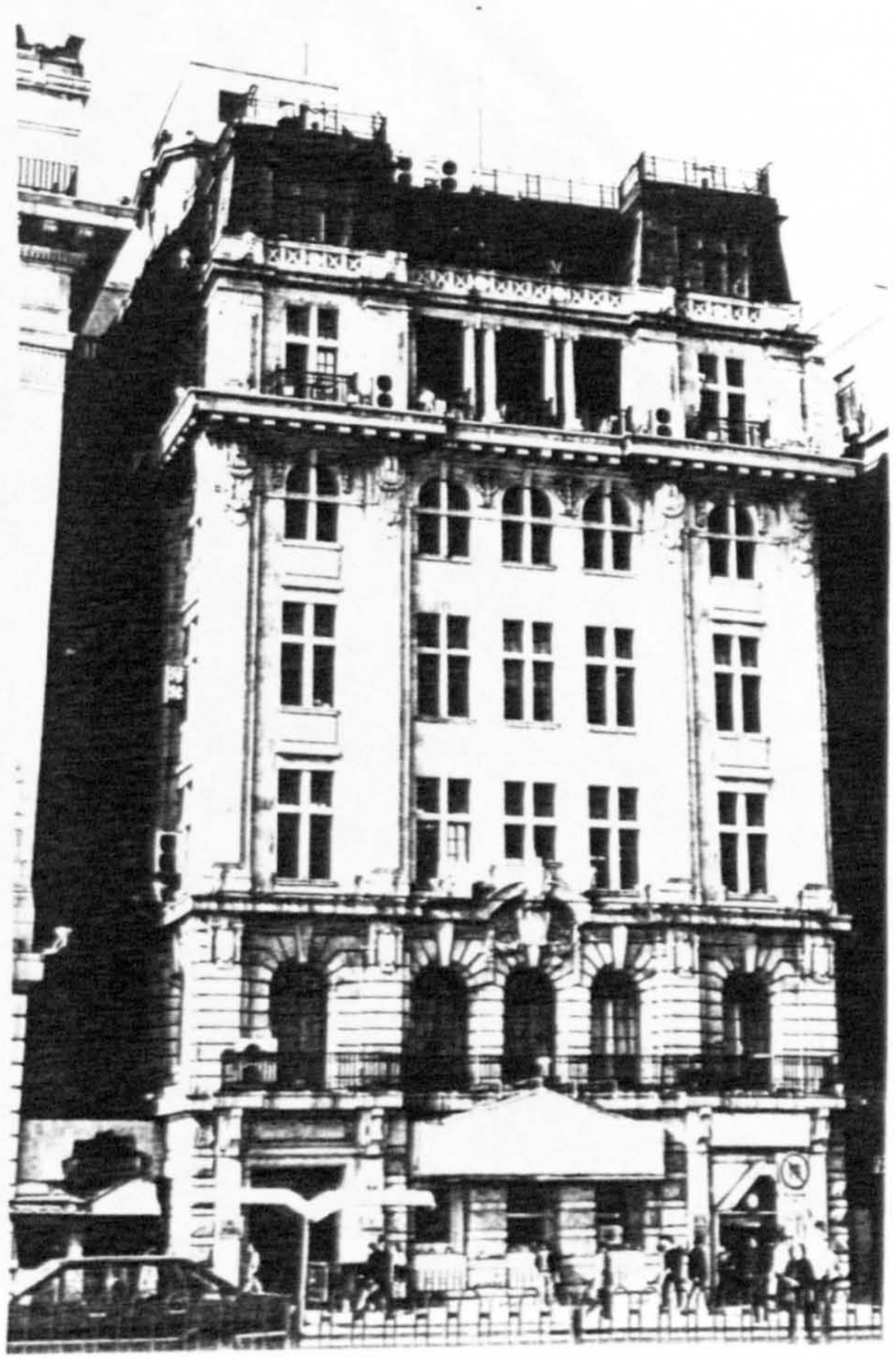
hostile: "Whether it is communism or not", debated Reginald Blomfield against Connell in 1934, "modernism is a vicious movement which threatens the literature and art which is our last refuge from a world that is becoming more and more merchandised every day."[9]

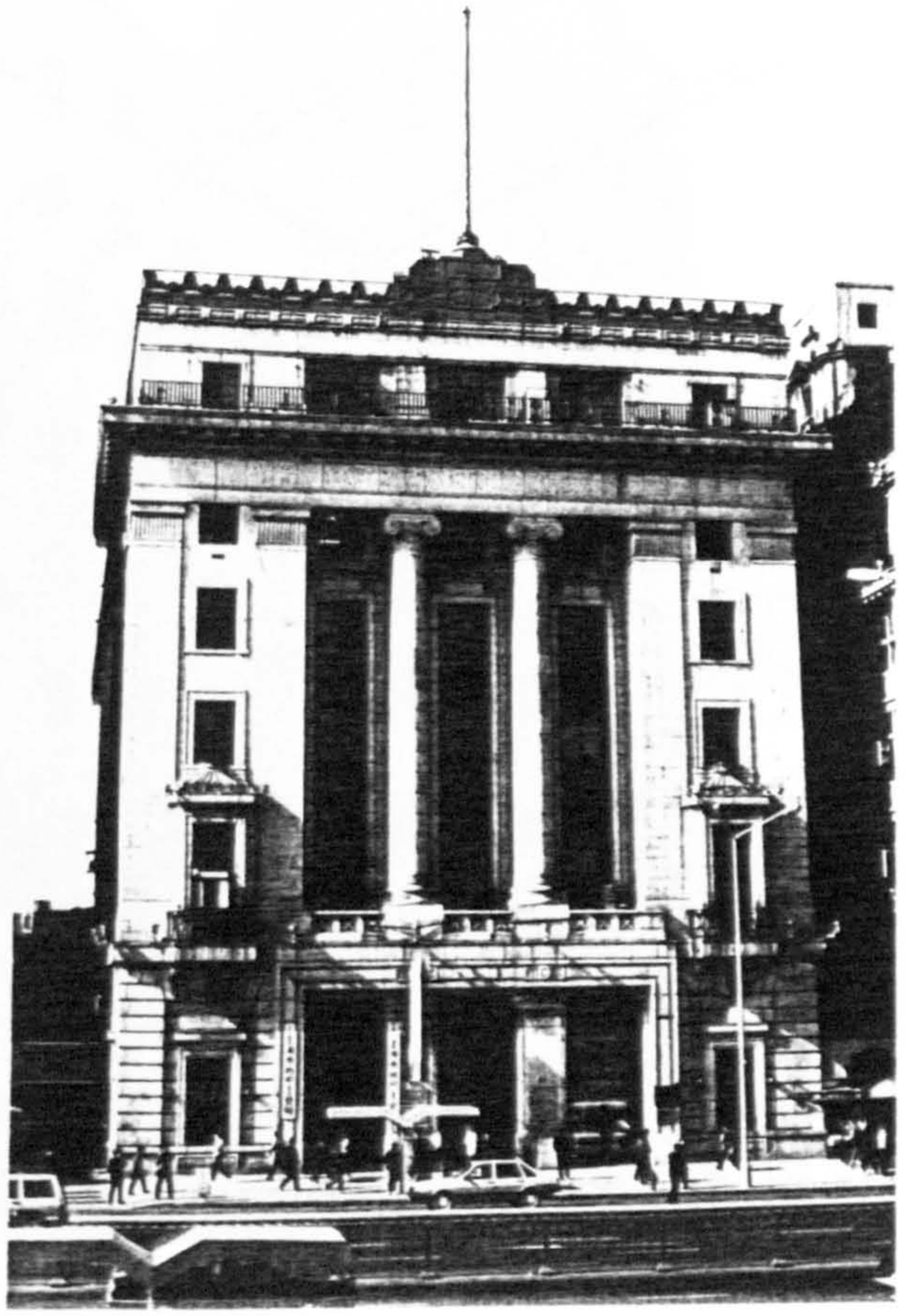
A further elaboration of this period was neo-classicism, associated with the international neo-classical revival architecture. Like historicism in domestic houses, neo-classicism also represented a return to a traditional source, but it shows the easy transformation from academicism to stripped-down formalism. Throughout the depression years that began at the start of the 1930s, this stripped-down but impressive neo-classicism was a main characteristic of British architecture in the 1930s with the climax at Edwin Lutyens' Viceroy's House in New Dehil (1912—30). These buildings are fundamentally classical, but eliminate or simplify classical orders, decorations and motifs.

The last French-influenced buildings designed by Palmer & Turner were the Yokohama Specie Bank in 1929, [6-24] the Yangtze Insurance Building in 1929 [6-25] and the Bank of Taiwan in 1931. The Yokohama Specie Bank is in the style particularly favoured for bank building in the United States, as well as in London, such as Curtis Green's Barclays Bank at Piccadilly (1926) and Edwin Cooper's National Westminster Bank at Poultry (1930—32), London.

Unlike the Yokohama Bank and the Bank of Taiwan's neo-Gréc Shanghai office, the building of the Yangtze Insurance Company is a fine work in the Parisian classical manner. There is a traditional use of classical tripartition: the rusticated base being a self-confident composition of two levels; the colossal pilasters rising three storeys; and the crown consisting of a Ionic portico and the French mansard roof. It might well be any Beaux-Arts building in Paris. In comparison with Palmer & Turner's first French-influenced work— the Union Building, (1912) Shanghai, the Yangtze Building moved towards purer French with little English reference. It is comfortably sandwiched between two Beaux-Arts classical buildings, the Yokohama Specie Bank on the left and Jardine, Matheson & Company on the right.

The reconstruction of the General Police Station in 1933 was most important as the last civic building built in the Settlement before the Second World War. [6-26] It replaced the four-storeyed, red-brick, Victorian Renaissance building with a ten-storeyed, grey-stone, international classical monument. The square plan of eight storeys surrounds a courtyard. The cool and abstracted building indicates what the architect had in mind for the police building. It is a heavyweight block, not only because of its massive volume, but more because of its visual density. There is neither cornice nor base, the entire building swells outward at street level. It demonstrates to its own time how classical order and decoration had nothing to do with classicist archaeology in architectural design.





[6-24] Yokohama Specie Bank, 1929, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Textile Bureau, 24 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (left)
[6-25] Yangtze Insurance Building, 1929, by Palmer & Turner, now Shanghai Cereal and Oil Products Corp., 26 East Zhong-shan No.1 Road, Shanghai. (right)

[6-26] General Police Station, 1933, by Department of Public Works, Shanghai Municipal Council, now Shanghai Municipal Public Security Bureau, 185 Fu Zhou Road, Shanghai. (left)

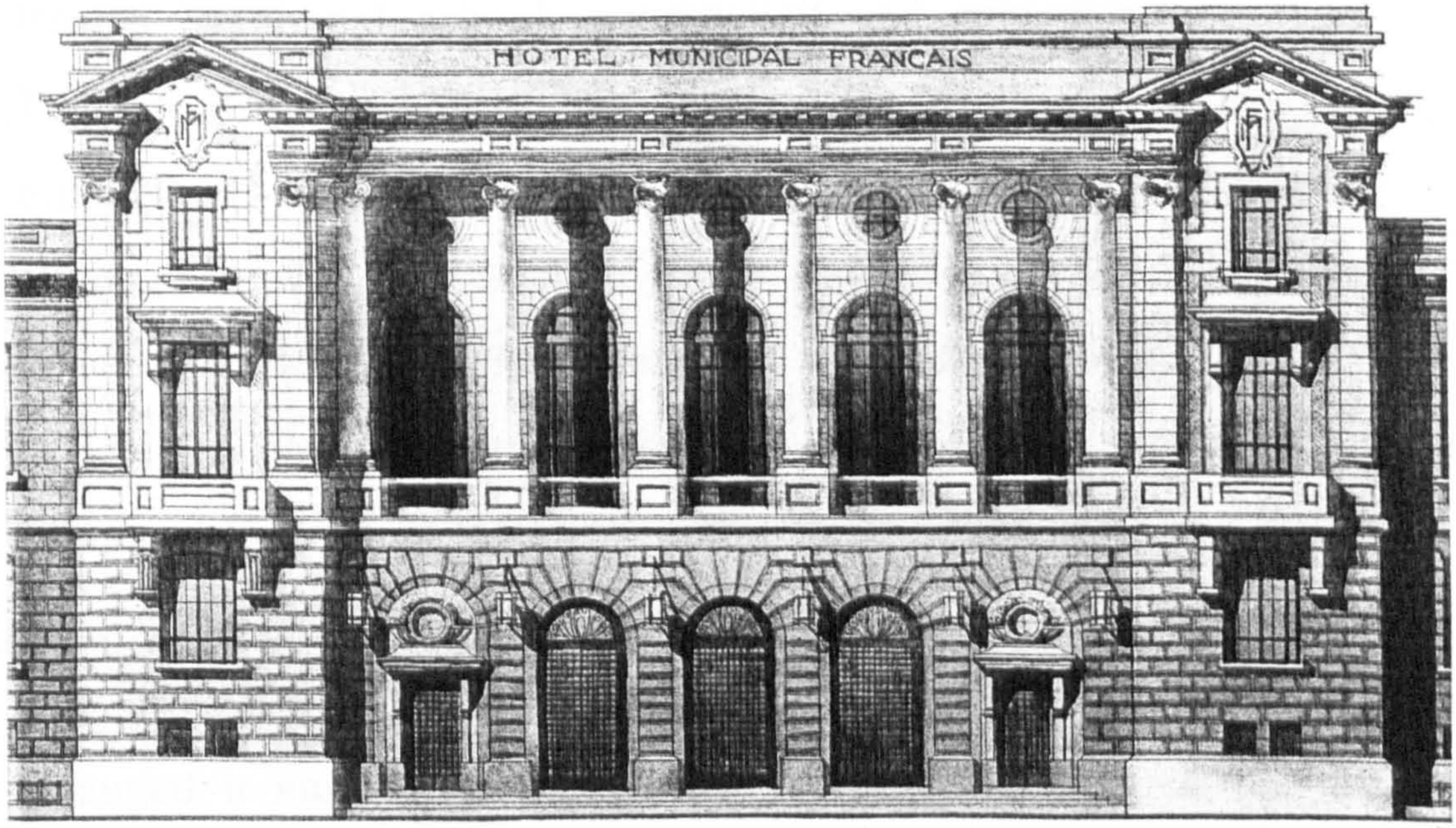
[6-27] Jialing House, 1937, by a British firm, 346 Central Si Cuan Road, Shanghai. (right)

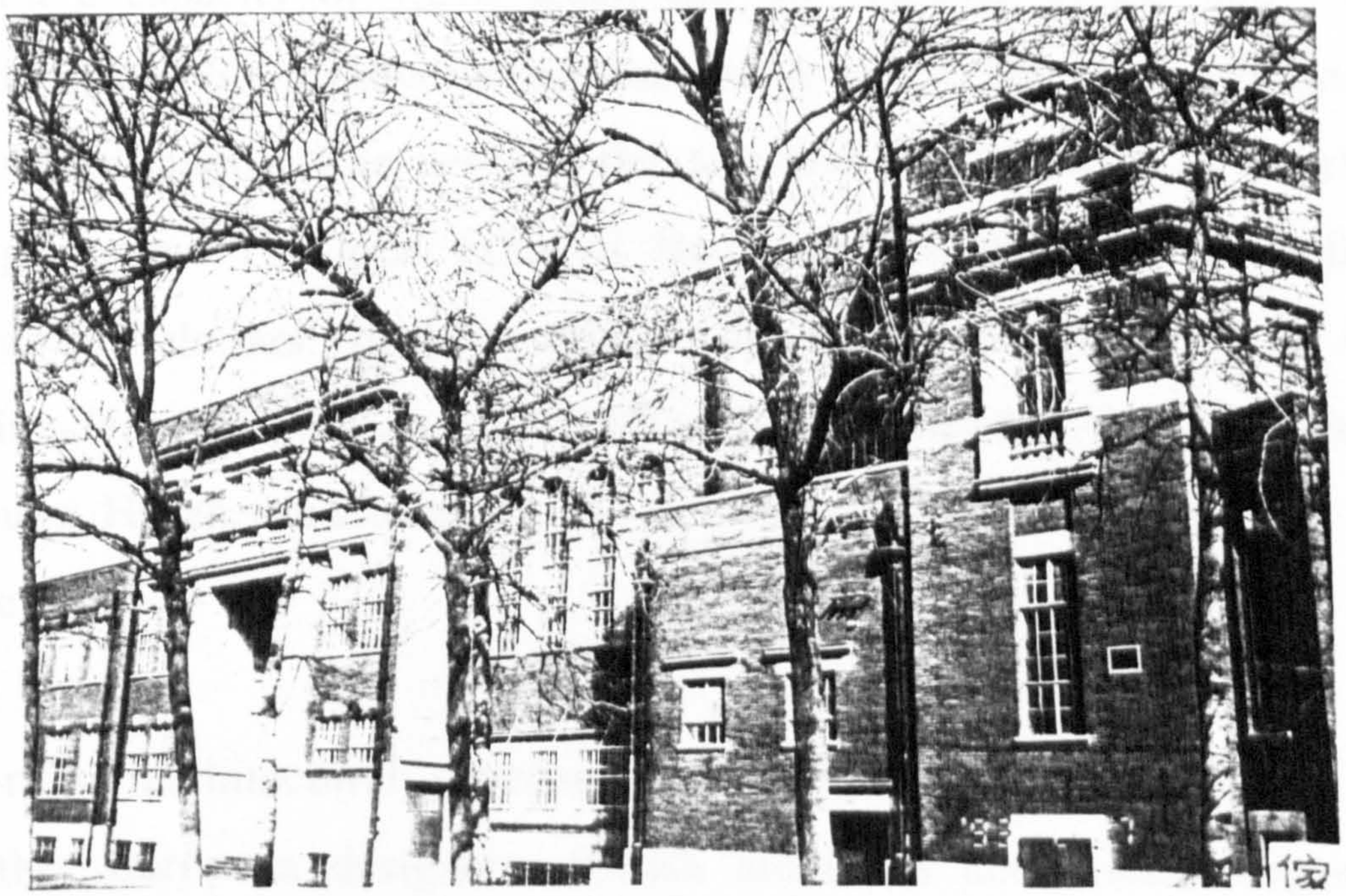
When Shanghai fell the Japanese in 1937, the Shanghai International Settlement became a temporary refuge from the Sino-Japanese War before Britain declared war on Japan in 1940. These three years were called "isolated island period", which provided housing speculators with their last opportunities. The Jialing House, built at the end of the 1937, was called after Silas Hardoon's Chinese wife. The building conveys a traditional classical image as well as a contemporary modern feeling. [6-27] It is a massive, flat-roofed fortress with a severe and smooth exterior with classical motifs. Piers thrust from the ground to the roof and give the regularity of a vertical system. The only ornament is the terra cotta palmette and anthemion moulding on the frieze. The thirteen-storeyed building is set back at different levels following the demands of the Building Regulations, which gives the building an Art Deco feel.

In Tientsin, the public buildings consciously reworked eighteenth-century Beaux-Arts themes, especially in the French Concession, such as the monumental classical building of Municipal la Concession Française. [6-28] In the British Concession, the Beaux-Arts impulse was less direct, but classicism was still favoured by British architects. The Tientsin Kung Hsueh (Tientsin Public School) was built in 1927, and extended in 1931. [6-29] The architect was John W. Williamson of the Tientsin British Municipal Council. He employed the Georgian style for this Chinese school. Its design was different from the American-founded school that was popular in the colonial Chinese style.

[6-28] Municipal de le Concession Francaise, 1929—31, by L. Mendelssohn, now Tientsin Children Library, Road, Tientsin. (upper)

[6-29] Tientsin Kung Hsueh, 1927—1935, by John W. Williamson, now Tianjin Yaohua High School, Shengli Road, Tientsin. (lower)





The school buildings occupy a street boundary. Brick with stone trimmings was the usual treatment for British school buildings at the time. The red brick and white stone dressings with classical details are fresh-looking in this school building. The hall with high Georgian lanterns dominates the composition. Like the Tientsin Grammar School, the Tientsin Kung Hsueh was also a British Municipal school, constructed and subsidised by the Tientsin British Council, but the Tientsin Kung Hsueh was established primarily for the education of Chinese children, although it was also open to other nationalities. The school was placed under a trust for education and administered by a committee elected annually by the ratepayers. It consisted of the primary department and a middle school.

The design was based on the British educational system and arranged a number of classrooms for small classes. The whole complex consists of four blocks: the centre contains a large hall with a capacity of 1,270 seats, and the flanking blocks and the opposition block have classrooms with space for about sixteen hundred pupils. The area of the site and playing field is nearly eight acres. The total value of land and buildings was 1.5 million standard dollars. In 1938 due to the disturbed conditions in the Sino-Japanese War, over 2,000 children attended the Tientsin Kung Hsueh, and teachers had to work double shifts to meet this demand.

British architectural superiority was challenged in the 1930s by other European designers. British architects and clients began to

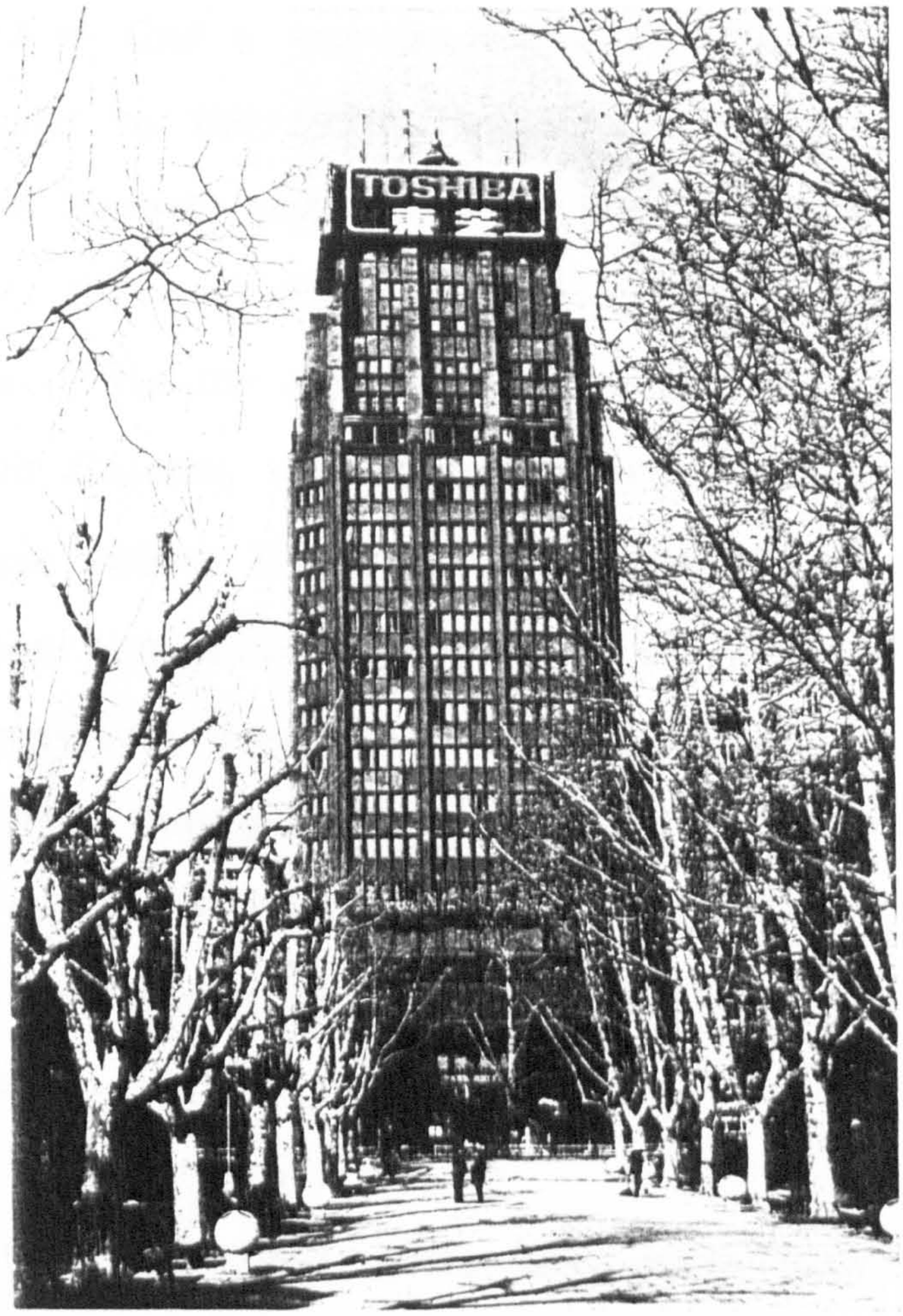
adapt lessons learned from other places to produce a distinct architecture. A major current design derived from Chicago or New York. The most significant modernist figure in Shanghai at the time was not a British architect, but a Hungarian architect, L. E. Hudec, who designed some influential modernist buildings in Shanghai, such as the Grand Theatre (1931), the Wu House (1935—37) and the Park Hotel (1931—34), the tallest building in the world outside the United States at the time. [6-30] In Tientsin, the Austrian architect, Rolf Geyling, designed the Heracles Mansions (1937) and the Minyuan Apartment (1936), while the French architect, P. Muller, designed the Leopold Building.

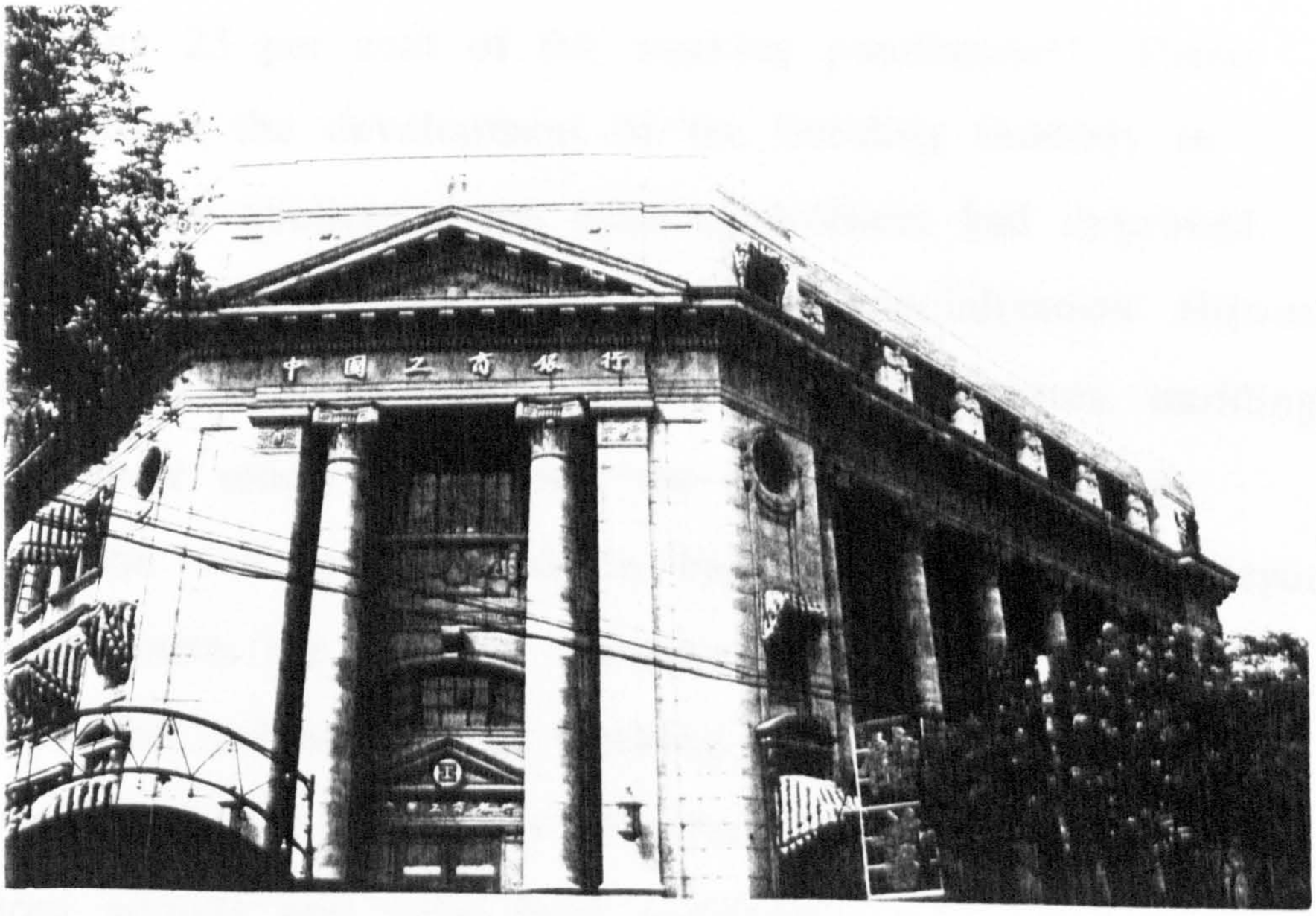
In this period, Chinese architects emerged to become a recognisable force in a profession that previously had been monopolised by foreign architects. The first generation of Chinese architects are those educated abroad, or in foreign offices in the treaty ports. The second generation includes architects from Chinese universities. With Western-mode architectural training, They became the nucleus of the Chinese architectural profession. In Shanghai, important Chinese architects were the American-educated Zhunag Jun, Zhao Shen and Dong Da-you. In Tientsin were Yan Zi-heng from Hong Kong, Chen Yan-zhong from London, and Shen Li-yuan who had studied in Italy. [6-31]

In 1927 the Architectural Society of Shanghai for Chinese architects was founded, and in 1932, the Chinese Institute of Architects was established. Beginning in the 1920s Chinese

[6-30] Park Hotel, 1931--34, by L. E. Hudec, 369 West Nanking Road, Shanghai. (upper)

[6-31] Yien Yieh Commercial Bank, 1924, by Sheng Li-yuan, 12 Chi Feng Road, Tientsin. (lower)





architects had attempted to find a way to revive the Chinese architectural tradition, and by the 1930s, some large public buildings in the Chinese Revival style were built in Shanghai and Nanking. In April 1936, the First Chinese Architecture Exhibition was opened in Shanghai. But the designs of Chinese architects were more at ease with Chinese versions of Western architecture. At this time, there were twelve Chinese architectural companies and twenty-seven foreign companies in Shanghai, and six Chinese and nine foreign companies in Tientsin. In Shanghai and Tientsin, it was not until the 1930s that architectural courses were formally organised in university education at St. John's University in Shanghai and *Hautes Etudes Industrielees et Commerciales* in Tientsin.

In Shanghai between 1928 and 1937, there were more than four hundred construction firms[10]. According to another computation, there were 200,000 to 400,000 construction workers, representing 23 per cent of the working population[11]. These figures reflect the development of the building industry in Shanghai. The quality of the building workers had improved considerably in the 1930s with increased specialisation. However, while the architects enjoyed a fairly high social status, building workers were much lower down the scale. Their safety in construction was not secured. In building the thirteen-storeyed Sassoon House, the workers, standing on the steel components, were hoisted and sent to the working place by a crane. In the construction of the Broadway Mansions, there were at least a hundred serious and even fatal accidents.

The demand for high-rise building encouraged the rapid development of structures, constructional technology and machinery. The Cathay Mansions was the first skeletal steel structure built up over ten storeys. Since then the skeletal steel frame had become the primary choice for high-rise buildings. Another issue bearing directly on building development was foundation technology. Due to the high ground-water table in the soil of Shanghai and Tientsin, deep pile foundation was widely used in large or high-rise projects. In building the Bank of China and the Metropolis Hotel, a combination of pile foundation and steel-plate cofferdam gave a solution to the problem of construction close to a neighbouring building. The building supply industry was not in step with the development of building technology. Many building materials and construction machines depended on import, such as cement, steel, timber, crane and pile drivers.

The agreements between the Chinese and British governments for British special rights in China, except Hong Kong, were mostly rescinded in 1943 during the Second World War. In fact, the end of the British privileges in China and its settlement and concession in Shanghai and Tientsin was brought by neither Chiang Kai-sheh nor Churchill, but by the Japanese aggression. The foreign settlements had been a shangri-la island in the ocean of wars and revolutions. They had dramatically retained their relative stability and prosperity when the rest of the country and the world suffered economic and social upheaval. The foreign

settlements had passed through the Taiping Uprising, the Republic Revolution, the Boxing Uprising, civil wars and the May Thirtieth Movement, but by 1937 when the Japanese invaded into Shanghai and Tientsin, it became clear that the Anglo-American Settlement had been put over a barrel, at the mercy of the Japanese.

In Shanghai even before 1937, much of the International Settlement north of the Soochow Creek had become a Japanese preserve. In August, 1937 when the city fell, the Japanese troops came ashore onto the wharves of the Settlement and kept European residents away from their properties in the Eastern District of the Settlement. Shanghai became a hell: so many lives lost and so much property and industry was destroyed. Many British architects left for Hong Kong, or Rangoon and Johore Bahru, because there was not much more that they were able to do in Shanghai except for building underground bomb shelters. Palmer & Turner, the largest British architectural firm in Shanghai, closed their office on the Bund in 1939. On the 8th December, 1941, the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbour, and on the same day the Japanese troops marched cross the Soochow Creek and took over the International Settlement. In January of 1941, the Japanese "returned" the International Settlement to the Chinese puppet government, when Shanghai was under the control of the Japanese army.

Tientsin's British residents had also seen their destiny in 1937 when the city came under the control of the Japanese army. In

December 1938 Japanese residents and firms moved from the British Concession, and at the same time, the Japanese military authorities in Tientsin instituted restrictive measures for all persons and foodstuffs entering and leaving the Concession. Barricades and barbed-wire entanglements were erected around the Concession. On April 9th 1939, the Japanese authorities blockaded the British-administered areas. Two years and four months later, the Concession was finally taken over by the Japanese army.

In the late summer of 1945 after the Japanese surrendered, the British began to return to Shanghai and Tientsin, joining those who had survived the Japanese internment camps. They claimed the properties that they had lost in the war, and reopened business. They also tried to put back together the life they had had before the war, but they found that the times had changed. There were no longer any specially protected foreign enclaves. Within only a few years, the political climate changed again. The corruption of Chiang Kai-shek's government brought its collapse and a rapid Communist advance over China.

Tientsin in January 1949 and Shanghai in May 1949 saw the excited population lining the streets to give the People's Liberation Army a welcome. London gave *de facto* recognition to Peking in 1951. Many foreigners remained, thinking that the Communists could not make the cities work without Western help. They even thought that Marxism would be alien and unacceptable to the traditional Chinese way of life. But they soon

found how wrong they were! The Westerners were finally aware that they had to go home. The British government closed its consulates at Shanghai and Tientsin in March 1953. By 1954, the Chinese government took over almost all foreign properties in the cities.

7

Conclusion: Characteristics of the British Building

British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin are the most varied and colourful in the history of modern Chinese architecture. They are the refraction of Sino-foreign relationship and of the cataclysm in nineteenth- and twentieth-century China. Every building is a witness both to architectural development and to the social change of its time. The British buildings played an important role in diffusing Western architecture in China through the key treaty ports like Shanghai and Tientsin. Following the architectural styles of Britain, the evolution of British buildings in China did not exactly parallel the contemporary development of British architecture, and ultimately developed relatively independently from the main current of British architecture.

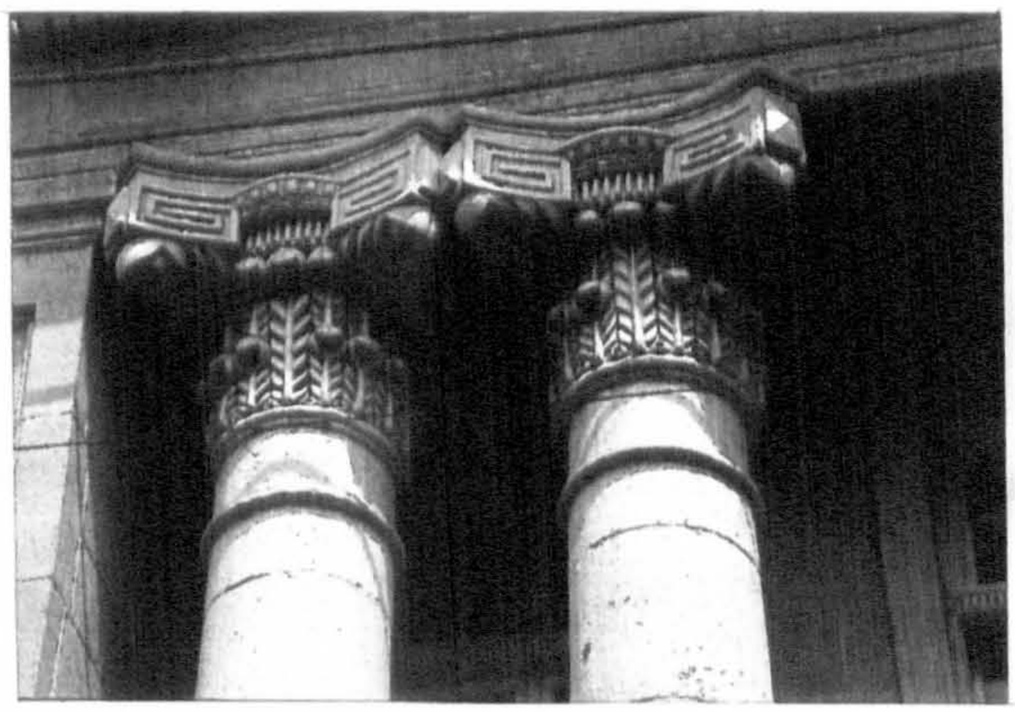
From simple houses to splendid monumental buildings, British architecture in China passed through four succeeding phases of birth, growth, expansion and transformation. British buildings in China cover almost all types and styles of British architecture from the late Victorian period to the time before the Second World War. They also embrace influences from Anglo-Indian colonial architecture and American commercial architecture. The primary characteristics of the British building in China may be summarized under five categories.

First, the foundations of British building in China were laid on the colonial tradition. This theme ran through the whole course of the British building in China. Stemming from the history of the East India Company, British trading houses were built on the model of the hongs in Canton or godowns in British India, from which the early British architects in Shanghai and Tientsin received second-hand information on architecture. The shortage of qualified and experienced architects was also responsible for the adoption of colonial types. Early foreign houses were designed to a large extent by military engineers or by self-taught architects, often the owners of the properties. They usually depended on pattern books, making the necessary concessions to the state of local construction technique. Therefore, it was impossible to expect that the designs accorded strictly with the rules of architectural grammar. The resulting buildings were always hybrid combinations of three: European forms, Indian variants, and Chinese details and materials. The architectural distance between Britain and British settlements in China was manifest both geographically and culturally.

The most obvious of colonial influences always lie in the climatic and geographical conditions, and the seasonal contrast of the climate accounted for the modification of the English house. Ventilation and sunshine were considered in wet and cold weather conditions, and influenced such elements as the thickness of the walls, size and form of windows, and built-in supply-pipes and drain-pipes. There were also vernacular influences on the British buildings in term of the indigenous

materials and construction techniques. When the Renaissance style settled in humid Shanghai, the window tended to become bigger than in Italy, to permit ample ventilation, and, ingeneral, the south-facing aspect of the house was paid more attention in China than in Britain. When the Queen Anne style came to Tientsin, it was dressed in grey brick. In classical architecture, the capital with square volutes becomes identified with Chinese Western-style buildings. [7-1]

[7-1] Square-volute capitals: Tung Lai Bank, 1931, Tientsin.



Second, the British building in China was architecture for the purposes of commercialism. Unlike India or Hong Kong, British Shanghai and Tientsin were not dominated by an official caste, but by an élite of businessmen, who were the "Lords" of the city. From first to last, British building in China was underpinned by commercialism. In the early twentieth century onwards, there was a consistent effort in British Shanghai and Tientsin to introduce a style to serve commercialism. Rapid expansion of trade and industry brought the British businessmen not only wealth but self-confidence as well. When British taipans were no longer satisfied with British architecture, they shifted their interest to the American commercial architecture of Chicago and New York.

Third, the buildings in British Shanghai and Tientsin were endowed with an "international" mixture of all styles from Britain, from the European continent, from the United States, and from every kind of local variant and adaptation. Although foreign Shanghai was British in society, it was "the Paris of the East", and "the New York of the East" in architecture. These names were an exaggeration stemming from Shanghai's reputation for luxury, but they indeed reflect the influences of French and American architecture. Building in British Tientsin are also bizarre and creative so that Tientsin was described as the "World Fair of Architecture", where, for example, in Victoria Road, one could find architectural styles and elements of British, French, German, Italian, Russian, American and Japanese architecture.

The Chinese influence on British building was not as manifest as French or American influence, but it was indeed present in the process of the development of British building in China. These influences included mainly social and economic elements, rather than architectural elements. Chinese tradition often imposed its manner of expression on the designs of British architects. It is worth noting that every high tide of building in the British settlements came with the movement of the Chinese into the settlements. Despite the influences of Britain, the British buildings in China essentially corresponded to the course of Chinese history and, in particular, to the economic development of Shanghai and Tientsin.

Fourth, there were gaps between economic development and architectural culture, and between architectural form and social formation. British building in China did not develop as the same timetable as in Britain. In the bank buildings, for instance, the classical style had become a popular formula for banks in nineteenth-century Britain, whereas in China, banks were still built like trading houses or city halls.

Although British architects in China borrowed the architectural forms from Britain, they did not conform to the stylistic rules in China. When buildings were designed in the English Renaissance style, the Arts and Crafts style or Edwardian classicism, these styles were merely formalities or fashions. The architectural form and its original cultural content and meaning were separated. The Greek Revival, for example, reflected the democratic ideal in Europe, but it was associated with Western imperialism in China.

It is unreliable to identify a building's function according to its facade, because the style had been reinterpreted and translated to serve other purposes. The Edwardian High Baroque of the War Office in London was borrowed for the elevation of the Shanghai Club. The language of Edwin Lutyens' Viceroy's House in New Delhi was repeated in the Hongkong & Shanghai Bank. The Wren style of town hall building was used for Sincere's department store in Shanghai, and Alexander Thomson's United Presbyterian Church in Glasgow finds its Chinese version at the Shanghai Race Club. There was also the gap between the British architects and local building technology. Wilson, the architect of Palmer &

Turner, complained that the architect in China had a great many difficulties to overcome, which would not be met with in England.[1]

The British buildings in Shanghai are regarded generally as superior to those of Tientsin. This was not only because of economy, but also because the Shanghai International Settlement Council employed professional architects, while in the Tientsin British Council, civil engineers prevailed. The Shanghai Public Works Department had functions and powers beyond Shanghai. It was the virtual headquarters of British government properties and projects throughout China. It was a very large department with nine branches and a staff of 7,000 in the 1930s. The architectural tastes of British Shanghai were predictably influential on other British settlements in China.

Fifth, and finally, the architectural dialogue between Britain and China was almost one-sided. It was a general condition that European culture was imposed on undeveloped and colonial countries and areas in the nineteenth century. The British influences on modern Chinese architecture are obvious, but, despite some examples, the Chinese influence on British architecture cannot be comparable to British influences. It is because the cultural diffusion was not balanced under the conditions of unequal political and military power, and conflicting social and cultural structures.

Before the nineteenth century, China had been regarded in

Western minds as a large, powerful and rich country. Chinoiserie overwhelmed Europe and even made some impact in North America in the middle of the eighteenth century. However, in the nineteenth century, the Western view of China shifted away from the positive towards the negative criticism. The main reasons for this were the decline of the Chinese empire from the late Manchurian reign and the rise of European imperialism after the Industrial Revolution. The burning of the Summer Palaces by the Anglo-French forces in 1860 symbolised the Western negation of Chinese architectural culture. The British superiority complex made it unnecessary for the British architects to look to Chinese architecture for guidance or inspiration.

The British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin were witnesses to a unique architectural experiment in fusing two quite alien architectural cultures. The tension between these two cultures was noted most perceptively by an English commentator, who observed in 1927: "they [the British] look round on their magnificent buildings and are surprised that China is not grateful to them for these gifts, forgetting that the money to build them came out of China. Controlling the bottle-neck through which the bulk of the China trade must pass, they prosper upon it coming and going and forget that it is valuable to England and not the magnificent buildings which profits and small taxes allowed them to erect."[2] The commentator was the novelist Arthur Ransome, writing for the *Manchester Guardian*.

Regarded as a hostile intrusion during the revolutionary Maoist

period, the British buildings in Shanghai and Tientsin are now enjoying a revaluation as historical landmarks and as visible monuments to the era of foreign investment and economic activity in the two cities. Yet although the much-altered buildings still work well in the context of the modern cities, the spirit of foreign Shanghai and foreign Tientsin has disappeared for ever, leaving only the facades intact.

Notes

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1 The Taiping Uprising (1850—64), radical political and religious upheaval. In the ideal Taiping vision the population was to give all its belongings to a "general treasury" shared by all alike to establish Taiping Tien Kuo (Heavenly Kingdom of Great Peace).

2 The Boxer Uprising (1900), extremely anti-foreign movement. The "Boxer" was a name that the foreigners gave to the Chinese local militia group known as the I-ho t'uan, which attempted to drive all foreign powers from China.

3 Fairbank ed. Cambridge History of China, vol.12, p.130

4 Huxley, A. Jesting Pilate, p.241

5 Fortune, R. Three Years' Wanderings, p.121

6 There was a population of 530,000 in Shanghai according to the 1825 census. Sources: Shanghai Records, p.75 Research into Modern Shanghai, p.19 and History of Shanghai, p.972. It is doubtful if the population included the troops.
Other data about population in this essay are from: Shanghai Tongzhi Guan ed. Historical Sources of Shanghai; Tang, Z. ed. History of Shanghai; The University Press ed. All about Shanghai

7 Kotenev, A M, ed. Shanghai: Its Mixed Court and Council. p.5

8 1 Chinese *li* = 0.31 mile

9 Fairbank, ed. Cambridge History of China, vol.12, p.751; Clifford, N. Spoilt Children of Empire, p.7

10 Fairbank, ed. Cambridge History of China, vol. 12, p.133

11 Clifford, Spoilt Children of Empire, p.33

12 Jones, F. Shanghai and Tientsin, p.117

13 Peking Convention, 24th October 1860, Article IV,

14 Ho, Z. trans. Tientsin in the Turn of the Twentieth Century, pp.16—19

15 Wang T'ao (1828—1897?), one of the pioneers of modern journalism in China and early leader of movement to reform traditional Chinese institutions along Western lines. He spent two years in Europe between 1867 and 1869 when he visited Oxford and Edinburgh Universities.

16 Yen Fu (1854—1921), Chinese scholar who translated T. H. Huxley, J. S. Mill, Herbert Spencer, Adam Smith and others into Chinese. He studied naval techniques in England, but he soon became interested in British and French government, jurisprudence, economics and sociology. He returned to China in 1879.

17 China's foreign trade in 1933—36: Shanghai about 50%, Tientsin about 10% of the whole trade. Source: Jones, F. Shanghai and Tientsin, p.136

18 According to the 1935 census, the total foreign inhabitants in Shanghai were about 45,000, merely 1.5 per cent of the whole population of three

million. Source: Zhang, Z. ed. Researches on Modern Shanghai. etc.

19 Clifford, N. Spoilt Children of Empire, p.74

20 Sergeant, H. Shanghai, p.96

21 Translation from Wang, T'ao Ying Ruan Zai Zhi. pp.117—118

22 Sergeat, H. Shanghai, p.101

23 Ibidem p.

24 Clifford, N. Spoilt Children of Empire, p.75

25 Cecil Chesterton, Young China,

26 Woodcock, George, The British in the Far East. Weidenfeld and Nicolson, London, 1969, p.160

27 Miller, G. E., Shanghai, the Paradise of Adventurers, Chapter 7

28 Sergeant, H. Shanghai, p.98

29 Ho, Zhen-shen, trans. Tientsin at the turn of the Twentieth Century, p.253

30 Ibidem p.18

31 Clifford, N. Spoilt Children of Empire, p.74

32 Ibidem p.75

33 Treaty of Nanking, 29 August 1842, Article II

34 Supplementary Treaty, 8 October 1843. Source: Jones, F. Shanghai and Tientsin, p.3
Kuai. J. ed. Historic Sources of Shanghai International Settlement, p.308

35 Treaty of Tientsin, 26th January 1858, Article XII

36 Crossman, C. The China Trade, p.109

37 Fortune, R. Three Years' Wanderings, p.116

38 Ibidem

39 Ni, J. trans. History of the French Concession in Shanghai, p.16

40 Ibidem

41 Miller, G. E. Shanghai, the paradise of adventurers, p.155

42 Historic Documents of Shanghai International Settlement, p.318

43 Rasmussen, O. D. Tientsin, an Illustrated Outline History, p.57

44 Ibidem

45 Ibidem p.60

46 Wang, S. ed. The Linong Buildings, p.6

47 Ibidem p.54

48 Muthesius, S. The English Terraced House,

49 MacPherson, A Wilderness of Marshes, p.7

50 Thomson, J. China and Ist People, p.47

51 Thomson, J. Through China with a Camera, p.165

52 One silver tael (Chinese ounce) was equivalent to about half a United State silver dollar in 1905. The silver tael system was to be abolished and replaced by silver dollar, or standard coin system in 1904.

53 Rasmussen, O. D. Tientsin, an Illustrated Outline History, p.60

54 Two great earthquakes happened near Tientsin in 1882 and 1888 on the Richter scale 6 and 7.5.

55 Rasmussen, O. D. Tientsin, an Illustrated Outline History, p.65

56 Ibidem p.64

57 The Birmingham town hall was built in 1832, the Leeds town hall in 1858, and the Liverpool town hall in 1856.

58 Ho, Chong-jian. Construction Industry of Modern Shanghai. p.118

59 Thomson, J. Through China with a Camera, p.165

60 Collected Ch'ing's Diaries, Shanghai: People's Press, 1982, p.123

61 Shanghai Municipal Council, Foreign House Assessment Schedules, 1905.

62 Kotenev, A. Shanghai: its Mixed Court and Council, p.107

63 Miller, G. E. Shanghai, the Paradise of Adventurers, p.234

64 Yuan Shih K'ai (1859-1916), Chinese army leader and minister in the late Ch'ing dynasty, and then the first President of the Republic of China (1912-16), who was in Tientsin as Viceroy of Chihli between 1903 and 1909

65 Muthesius, H. The English House.

66 Lo, C. Construction Industry of Modern Shanghai. Shanghai: Archive Works, 2/1992, p.51

67 David McLean, International Banking and its Political Implications: the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation and Imperial Bank of Persia 1889—1914, King, Frank H. H., ed. Eastern Banking. p.8

68 According to Barton's figures in 1926, the conversion was at the rate of £1 = 6.4 Shanghai dollars.

69 King, Frank H. ed. Eastern Banking, p.118

70 King, F. Eastern Banking, p.345

71 The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation: the Official Opening of the New Building at Shanghai, 23rd June 1932, Shanghai: the Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation, 1932, p.72

72 Ibidem p.73

73 London contained 7.5 million people spread over 70 square miles in the 1930s.

74 Purvis, M. Tall Storeys, p.59

75 No connection found with Sir John Burnet

76 McPherson, K. A Wilderness of Marshes. p. 97

77 Pan, G. History of Chinese Architecture, p.228

78 Dean, D. The Thirties. p.37

79 Ibidem

80 All about Shanghai, pp.110—111

81 London contained 7.5 milion people spread over 70 square miles.

82 Zhang, Z. ed. Researches on Modern Shanghai. p.436

83 Downes, K. English Baroque Architecture. p.1

84 Sergeant, H. Shanghai. p.110

85 Pan, G. ed. History of Chinese Architecture, p.227

86 Dean, D. The Thirties. p.37

87 Pan, G. History of Chinese Architecture, p.214

88 Tang, Z. ed. History of Shanghai, p.742

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